



Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C. 20535

JUN 07 2001

MR ERNIE LAZAR
POST OFFICE BOX 423434
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94142 3434

105-32909

Defender of State Sovereignty

Subject: BUFILE 105-32909 (FIRST 500 PAGES)

FOIPA No. 0932220- 000

HQ 105-32909

OO Richmond: 105-405

Dear Requester:

The enclosed documents were reviewed under the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA), Title 5, United States Code, Section 552/552a. Deletions have been made to protect information which is exempt from disclosure, with the appropriate exemptions noted on the page next to the excision. In addition, a deleted page information sheet was inserted in the file to indicate where pages were withheld entirely. The exemptions used to withhold information are marked below and explained on the enclosed Form OPCA-16a:

Section 552

Section 552a

☒ (b)(1)

☐ (b)(7)(A)

☐ (d)(5)

☒ (b)(2)

☐ (b)(7)(B)

☐ (j)(2)

☐ (b)(3)

☒ (b)(7)(C)

☐ (k)(1)

☒ (b)(7)(D)

☐ (k)(2)

☐ (b)(7)(E)

☐ (k)(3)

☐ (b)(7)(F)

☐ (k)(4)

☐ (b)(4)

☐ (b)(8)

☐ (k)(5)

☐ (b)(5)

☐ (b)(9)

☐ (k)(6)

☐ (b)(6)

☐ (k)(7)

429 page(s) were reviewed and 429 page(s) are being released.

☐ Document(s) were located which originated with, or contained information concerning other Government agency(ies) [OGA]. This information has been:

☐ referred to the OGA for review and direct response to you.

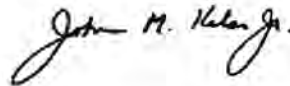
☐ referred to the OGA for consultation. The FBI will correspond with you regarding this information when the consultation is finished.

☒ You have the right to appeal any denials in this release. Appeals should be directed in writing to the Co-Director, Office of Information and Privacy, U.S. Department of Justice, Flag Building, Suite 570, Washington, D.C. 20530-0001 within sixty days from receipt of this letter. The envelope and the letter should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Appeal" or "Information Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA number assigned to your request that it may be easily identified.

☐ The enclosed material is from the main investigative file(s) in which the subject(s) of your request was the focus of the investigation. Our search located additional references, in files relating to other individuals, or matters, which may or may not be about your subject(s). Our experience has shown, when ident, references usually contain information similar to the information processed in the main file(s). Because of our significant backlog, we have given priority to processing only the main investigative file(s). If you want the references, you must submit a separate request for them in writing, and they will be reviewed at a later date, as time and resources permit.

☒ See additional information which follows.

Sincerely yours,



John M. Kelso Jr.
Section Chief,
Freedom of Information-
Privacy Acts Section
Office of Public and
Congressional Affairs.

Enclosure(s)

✓ For your information, FBI Headquarters file 105-32909, is being provided to you in it's entirety.

Pursuant to Title 28, Code of Federal Regulations, Section 16.11 and 16.49, there is a fee of ten cents per page for duplication. There is no charge for the first 100 pages. Please remit a check or money order payable to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the amount of \$32.90. Please include the FOIPA number with your payment to insure the correct request is credited.



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FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
AND
PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT 105-HQ-32909
FILE NUMBER 105-HQ-32909
SECTION NUMBER 1

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION



SAC, Richmond

October 22, 1954

Director FBI

DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY
AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Page 6 of "The Worker" for October 17, 1954, carried an article stating that the captioned organization was organized in Blackstone, Virginia. The article described the captioned organization as a "new hate body to fight school desegregation." The article further states that the organization has applied for a charter.

It would appear that the activities of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties may fall within the provisions of Executive Order 10450 wherein the Attorney General may designate organizations which have "adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force and violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution of the United States."

In view of the above, you are requested to check the records of the State of Virginia relative to the application for a charter by captioned organization. This information as well as that contained in your files regarding the captioned organization should be furnished to the Bureau by letter together with your recommendation as to whether or not a security investigation is warranted.

RET:ejp

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SE 35

OCT 22 1954
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RECORDED - 63

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
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COMM - FBI

OCT 22 1954

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/23/98 BY 10001/10001/10001

THE NEW NEGRO AFFAIRS

• Writer Jailed on Contempt • Marian Anderson in Opera

WAS posted for William Bradford Huie, author and editor, who was jailed in Live Oak, Florida, as a result of his investigations and his death efforts to interview Mrs. Ruby McCollum, condemned to death for the murder of Dr. Leroy Adams. Huie was given a choice of a fine or six months in jail because he charged that former prosecuting attorney A. K. Black and the murdered man were partners in a gambling racket, and that this evidence had been suppressed in court. For two years Circuit Judge Hal C. Adams forbade anyone to see Mrs. McCollum. Huie is appealing his sentence.

CONTRALTO Marian Anderson was signed to sing this season with the Metropolitan Opera, marking the end of the lilywhite policy of the opera company which has existed since its founding in 1883.

The world-famous singer will make her debut as Ulrica in the revival of Verdi's "Masked Ball" at its first performance of the season in early January. Rudolph Bing, Metropolitan manager, last year also signed Janet Collins, ballet dancer, as prima ballerina for the season—another first.

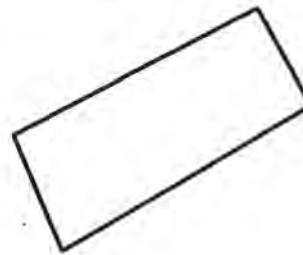
THE RACIST campaign to defeat school integration in Milford, Delaware, got a shot in

the arm from a Florida race-hating sheriff. Sheriff Willis McCall of Lake County appeared as guest speaker at rallies called by the National Association for the Advancement of White People. He gained notoriety in 1951 when he shot two chained helpless Negro prisoners whom he was supposed to be taking to jail, killing one instantly and critically injuring the other. McCall told the mobs "we know how to handle 'em in Florida."

PROTESTS against inactivity on the part of the House Committee on unAmerican Affairs in the Delaware school disturbances was made by the Baltimore Afro-American. The editorial pointed out that no effort was made to conceal the attempt to overthrow law by force and violence. "If the activity of William Bryant Bowles and his National Association for the Advancement of White People is not subversive, the word has lost the meaning we have been led to believe it had," said the Afro.

FORMATION of a new hate body to fight school desegregation, the "Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties," was organized in Blackstone, Va., became known when the group applied for a charter.

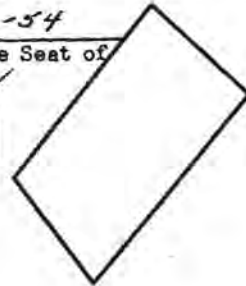
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10-23-54
1248/DRK/fll
342900



This is a clipping from page 6 of the

() Daily Worker
() The Worker
() New Leader

Date 10-17-54
Clipped at the Seat of Government.



32909

ENCLOSURE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-32909)

DATE: 11/2/54

FROM : SAC, RICHMOND (105-405)

SUBJECT: DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY
AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES
IS - X

Rebulet 10/22/54.

On 10/27/54, [redacted] Charter Section, Corporation Commission, Commonwealth of Virginia, Richmond, Va., advised that the only organization which had been chartered in the State of Virginia with a name similar to captioned group was the "DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES", the principal office of which is in Richmond, Va. The incorporation papers of this group were filed with the State Corporation Commission on 10/26/54 by Mr. J. B. WALL, Attorney, Box 164, Farmville, Va., and Charter No. 70358 was granted by RALPH T. CATTERALL, Chairman, S.C.C., on 10/26/54. [redacted] advised that there were no photostating facilities available at the State Corporation Commission; consequently, arrangements were made with [redacted] S.C.C., to get a certified copy of the certificate of incorporation of this organization. [redacted] made the certified copy available on 10/29/54 and it is being retained in the Richmond file.

There are transmitted herewith to the Bureau three copies of the certificate of incorporation of the above organization for perusal by the Bureau and such distribution as the Bureau deems necessary. It will be noted that the purposes for which this association is formed as quoted in Article III of the certificate of incorporation are: to disseminate amid the people information concerning the fundamental principles and concepts of our federal government and a due regard for that federal system; to teach and proclaim the necessity of the Federal Government restricting itself to its proper sphere and of preserving the sovereignty of the states; to instill a recognition of the worth to each individual of the historic liberties the citizens of the United States have enjoyed, and to increase the determination to defend those liberties by all honorable and lawful means against all efforts to encroach thereon; to seek by all honorable and lawful means the retention by each state of its full right and power to regulate within its borders. In the manner it believes to be most conducive to the happiness and good of its citizens, its own

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RECORDED - 94-105-32909

domestic arrangements, and within the limits of the law at any time existing, to study, investigate, plan and advocate means and methods by which the people of each state may enjoy to the full this right and power in any of its domestic matters, whether educational, recreational, economic, social or otherwise; to provide the medium through which those desiring to further these purposes may make their views known throughout the country and may bring to bear in all proper ways their influence for the accomplishment of the same; to co-operate with others adhering to like principles in the furtherance of and effectuation of those principles; and in furtherance of and not in limitation of the above: etc.

While the certificate of incorporation makes no mention of the school segregation issue based upon the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court, it appears that this organization has been formed with a view to opposing the non-segregation decision.

There is also attached for the Bureau's information a clipping from the Richmond Times-Dispatch, Richmond, Va., entitled "Segregation Organization Gets Charter", in which it is indicated that officers of the above organization have clearly indicated that the principal purpose of this group is to combat the non-segregation program in the public school system in the State of Virginia.

The officers of this organization as identified in the certificate of incorporation are set forth as follows, along with information appearing in the attached newspaper article and a similar one appearing in the Richmond News Leader as to the officers' occupations:

President - ROBERT B. CRAWFORD
Farmville, Virginia
Dry Cleaner and for fifteen years a member
of Prince Edward County School Board

Vice-President - C. D. JONES
LaCrosse, Virginia
Merchant

Secretary - WILLIAM B. COCKE, Jr.
Sussex, Virginia
Sussex County Court Clerk

Treasurer - E. FLOYD VATES
Powhatan, Va.
Auto dealer and former member
Virginia House of Delegates

RH 105-405

The following are identified as directors of the group in the certificate of incorporation, and comments are set forth as to the identity of these persons obtained from the above-referred-to newspaper article:

VALENTINE ~~X~~SOUTHALL, Amelia Court House, Va.
Commonwealth Attorney, Amelia County

CHARLES T. ~~X~~MOSES, Appomattox, Va.
Virginia State Senator

THOMAS E. ~~X~~HALL, SR., Buckingham, Va.
Chairman of the Buckingham County Board of Supervisors

WILLIAM E. ~~X~~DANIEL, JR., Keysville, Va.

FRANK E. ~~X~~JONES, Dinwiddie, Va.
Dinwiddie County Treasurer

REUBEN S. ~~X~~JOHNS, Cumberland, Va.
Chairman of the Cumberland County Board of Supervisors

R. MACLE ~~X~~SMITH, Kenbridge, Va.
Member of the Virginia State House of Delegates

R. L. ~~X~~MILLIRONS, South Hill, Va.

BEN T. ~~X~~ENSEY, JR., Petersburg, Va.
Attorney

RAYMOND H. ~~X~~BOELT, Powhatan, Va.
Powhatan County Schoolteacher

ROBERT B. CRAWFORD, Farmville, Va.
(Identified in list of officers)

WILLIAM B. COCKE, JR., Sussex, Va.
(Identified in list of officers)

FIELDING L. ~~X~~WILSON, Crewe, Va.
Attorney

RH 105-405

For the Bureau's additional information, the indices of the Richmond Office contain no derogatory information which can be identified with any of the above persons and it is the recommendation of this office that no investigation of this group be instituted in the absence of some indication that this group has violated some federal statute over which the Bureau has jurisdiction. In this connection, it will be noted from the newspaper article that according to WILLIAM B. COCKE, JR., Secretary of the organization, some thirteen local chapters of this group have been formed in the State of Virginia in addition to the parent group, the one referred to herein.

This matter is being considered closed in this office, UACB.

The Defenders of State Sov-
ereignty and Individual Liberties,

About 15 officers and directors of the organization were in Richmond yesterday to attend to the legal formalities of obtaining a charter for the nonprofit group.

"The organization will act with determination and firmness to retain, by all honorable and legal means, segregated schools."

Cocke said the organization already has approximately 2,000 members in chapters located principally in the Fourth District—the area where Virginia's

Continued on Page 2, ~~Column 3~~

Figure 1

10-21-54

105-32909-2

28 1954

Segregation Organization Gets Charter

Continued From First Page

Negro population is heaviest. The annual membership fee is \$10.

Collins Denny, Jr., Richmond attorney, has been retained by the group to present its views before the Governor's Commission on Public Education at a public hearing here on November 15, Cocke said.

Cocke said the Defenders, now that they have a State-wide charter, hope to be able to organize chapters in every city and county in the State. He said the organization was willing to send representatives to talk with groups in any locality.

Farmville Man Is President

Robert B. Crawford, Farmville dry cleaner, is president of the State group. Crawford served as a member of the Prince Edward County School Board for some 15 years, although he is not a member now.

Prince Edward County's School Board is one of five defendants in cases involved in the United States Supreme Court's May 17 decision which held that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional.

C. D. Jones, a merchant of La-Crosse, Mecklenburg County, is vice-president, and E. Floyd Yates, Powhatan County auto dealer and former member of the House of Delegates, treasurer.

The charter also listed 13 persons as directors of the group. They were Valentine Southall, Commonwealth's attorney of Amelia County; State Senator Charles T. Moses, of Appomattox; Thomas B. Hall, Sr., chairman of the Buckingham County Board of Supervisors; William E. Daniel, Jr., of Keysville; Frank E. Jones, Dinwiddie County treasurer; Reuben S. Johns, chairman of the Cumberland County Board of Supervisors; R. MacIn Smith, of Kenbridge, member of the House of Delegates from Brunswick and Lunenburg Counties; R. L. Millions, South Hill; Ben T. Kensey, Jr., Petersburg attorney; Raymond H. Baelt, Powhatan County teacher, and Fielding L. Wilson, Crewe attorney. Cocke and Crawford were also listed as directors.

Segregation Not Mentioned

The charter, drawn in broad terms, nowhere mentions school segregation. But one of the purposes is "to seek by all honorable and lawful means the retention by each State of its . . . right to regulate within its borders, in the manner it believes to be most conducive to the happiness and good of its citizens, its own domestic arrangements, and to . . . advocate means by which the people of each State may enjoy this right and power in any of its domestic matters, whether educational, recreational, economic, social or otherwise."

The charter also provides for the dissemination of information concerning "the fundamental principles and concepts of our Federal government." The group essly of the Federal government also seeks to proclaim "the necessity of the Federal government restricting itself to its proper sphere."

The Defenders may also publish a newspaper; employ persons to present its views before governing bodies; advocate legislation, and employ persons to organize and co-ordinate groups in the State and nation with similar views.

Cocke said yesterday the group already has 13 chapters—in Appomattox, Buckingham, Cumberland, Powhatan, Nottoway, Prince Edward, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Dinwiddie, Sussex, Charlotte and Amelia Counties and Petersburg.

Cocke said the group has "absolutely no connection with any other group anywhere." He said the organization had been growing slowly since a meeting of about 85 persons largely from the Fourth District, was held October 7 in Blackstone. At that time the plan for the chartering of the Defenders was outlined.

Cocke said the group wants to "give expression to the unorganized majority." He said it is non-political and will "assist in any manner to reach a solution to this [segregation] problem for the best interests of all the citizens of Virginia."

"We want to preserve education and progress, but we are unalterably opposed to integration in the schools," Cocke said. He said the group is convinced that integration would destroy the "effectiveness of the public school system."

C O P Y

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION

OF

DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES

This is to certify that we, the undersigned, do hereby associate ourselves to incorporate an association under Chapter 13 of Title 13 of the Code of Virginia, 1950, as amended, and to that end, we do by this certificate set forth as follows:

I

The name of the corporation, hereinafter sometimes referred to as "association", is to be the DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES.

II

The name of the place wherein the principal office of the association is to be located in this State is the City of Richmond.

III

The purposes for which this association is formed are: to

disseminate amid the people information concerning the fundamental principles and concepts of our federal government and a due regard for that federal system; to teach and proclaim the necessity of the Federal Government restricting itself to its proper sphere and of preserving the sovereignty of the states; to instill a recognition of the worth to each individual of the historic liberties the citizens of the United States have enjoyed, and to increase the determination to defend those liberties

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28 APR 1972

105-32909-2
ENCLOSURE

by all honorable and lawful means against all efforts to encroach thereon; to seek by all honorable and lawful means the retention by each state of its full right and power to regulate within its borders, in the manner it believes to be most conducive to the happiness and good of its citizens, its own domestic arrangements, and within the limits of the law at any time existing, to study, investigate, plan and advocate means and methods by which the people of each state may enjoy to the full this right and power in any of its domestic matters, whether educational, recreational, economic, social or otherwise; to provide the medium through which those desiring to further these purposes may make their views known throughout the country and may bring to bear in all proper ways their influence for the accomplishment of the same; to cooperate with others adhering to like principles in the furtherance of and effectuation of those principles; and in furtherance of and not in limitation of the above:

(1) To appoint, employ and retain such legal staff or staffs, firm or firms, and attorney or attorneys as may be necessary or useful in the accomplishment of the above purposes.

(2) To appoint, employ and retain for the purposes of publicity such individuals, committees, firms, associations and corporations as are necessary or useful for the purpose of acquainting the people with the purposes of this association and for advancing the purposes hereof.

(3) To publish a magazine, newspaper or other periodical and to employ an editor and such other persons as may be needed or helpful in the operation of same, to make all necessary contracts and do such other needed or useful lawful acts as may be helpful in connection therewith.

(4) To appoint, employ and retain representatives to present the governing bodies in locality, State and Nation the views of this association and to advocate legislation favorable to those views, to oppose legislation hostile to those views.

(5) To appoint, employ and retain individuals, firms, corporations or associations for the organization and coordination of associations throughout the State and Nation with purposes similar to those for which this association is formed.

(6) To take all actions suitable and proper for the accomplishment of any of the purposes or attainment of any of the objects above set forth or which are designed to further the same, either alone or in association with any other corporation, firm or individual; and to do any and every other act or acts, thing or things, which an association of this character may legally do.

IV

To the extent that it may be possible to do so, a chapter of this association shall be organized in each of the counties and independent cities of Virginia, but there shall be only one chapter in each county and independent city. The members of the several chapters shall be members of this association, but the members of this association shall have no voting power.

V

This association shall be governed by a Board of Directors whose aggregate number shall not exceed one hundred and fifty (150). The

entire voting power shall be vested in the directors who may take any lawful action for or on behalf of the association which might be taken by members having such voting power or by stockholders and directors under any provision of the law of Virginia. There may be one director from each chapter. The members of each chapter may nominate one of its members for election by the board of directors as a director of the association. In addition, the Board of Directors shall elect not more than ten directors at large from the membership of the association. In the event of a vacancy amid the directors at large, the Board of Directors shall elect a successor; and in the event of a vacancy occurring amid the directors nominated by any chapter, the Board of Directors may elect a director from that chapter in which the vacancy occurs who shall serve until the Board elect a director from said chapter from nominations submitted by that chapter.

VI

The Board of Directors may, by a resolution passed by a majority of the whole board, in their discretion, designate not less than 10%, and in no event less than three, nor more than twenty-five, of their number to constitute an Executive Committee who shall have and exercise the powers of the Board of Directors in the management of the business and affairs of the association during the interval between Board meetings to the extent permitted by law.

VII

The names and residences of the directors who are to manage the affairs of the association for the first year of its existence are as follows:

DIRECTORS	RESIDENCES
Valentine Southall	Amelia Court House, Virginia
Charles T. Moses	Appomattox, Virginia
Thomas B. Hall, Sr.	Buckingham, Virginia
William E. Daniel, Jr.	Keysville, Virginia
Reuben S. Johns	Cumberland, Virginia
Frank E. Jones	Dinwiddie, Virginia
R. Maclin Smith	Kenbridge, Virginia
R. L. Millirons	South Hill, Virginia
Ben T. Kensey, Jr.	Petersburg, Virginia
Robert B. Crawford	Farmville, Virginia
Raymond H. Boelt	Powhatan, Virginia
William B. Cocke, Jr.	Sussex, Virginia
Fielding L. Wilson	Crewe, Virginia

The names and residences of the officers of this association for the first year, unless sooner changed by law, are:

OFFICERS	OFFICE	RESIDENCES
Robert B. Crawford	President	Farmville, Virginia
C. D. Jones	Vice-President	LaCrosse, Virginia
William B. Cocke, Jr.	Secretary	Sussex, Virginia
E. Floyd Yates	Treasurer	Powhatan, Virginia

VIII

The period for the duration of the association is unlimited.

IX

The amount of real estate to which its holdings at any time are to be limited is 1,000 acres.

Given under our hands, this 26th day of October, 1954.

Charles T. Moses

Wm. B. Cocke Jr.

Wm E. Daniel, Jr.

R. L. Millirons

R. Maclin Smith

VIRGINIA:

CITY OF RICHMOND, to-wit:

I, Mae Anderson, a Notary Public in and for the City of Richmond, State of Virginia, do hereby certify that Wm. B. Cocke, Jr. Wm. E. Daniel, Jr R. L. Millirons, and R. Maclin Smith whose names are signed to the writing above, bearing date on the 26 day of October, 1954, have and each has acknowledged the same before me in my City and State aforesaid.

Given under my hand this 26 day of October, 1954.

Mae Anderson

Notary Public

My commission expires March 30, 1957

VIRGINIA:

COUNTY OF PRINCE EDWARD, to-wit:

I, J. B. Wall, Jr., a Commissioner in Chancery for the Circuit Court of the County of Prince Edward, State of Virginia, do hereby certify that Charles T. Moses, whose name is signed to the writing hereto attached, bearing date on the 26th day of October, 1954, has acknowledged the same before me in my County and State aforesaid.

Given under my hand this 26 day of October, 1954.

J B Wall Jr
Commissioner in Chancery

VIRGINIA:

IN THE Law and Equity COURT OF THE CITY OF RICHMOND:

The foregoing certificate of incorporation of the DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES was presented to me, Thomas C. Fletcher, Judge of the Law and Equity Court of the City of Richmond, Virginia, in term time, and having been examined by me, I thereupon ascertain and certify hereon that the persons signing and acknowledging the foregoing certificate are of good moral character and suitable and proper persons to be incorporated for the purpose set forth in the said certificate of incorporation, and I further certify that the said certificate of incorporation is, in my opinion, signed and acknowledged in accordance with the requirements of Section 13-222 of the Code of Virginia (1950), for such cases made and provided.

Given under my hand this 26th day of October, 1954.

Thomas C. Fletcher
JUDGE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-32909)

DATE: December 13, 1954

FROM : SAC, RICHMOND (105-405)

SUBJECT: DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY
AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/22/93 BY 1048/EXM/94

Re Bureau letter dated November 8, 1954.

In accordance with Bureau instructions, no active investigation will be pursued concerning captioned organization.

I should like to point out that this office has no panel source suitable for coverage of the activities of instant organization, but I feel completely confident that if this group engages in activities of an illegal nature, such activities will come to the attention of this office through the medium of the press and the sources of information which we have developed in connection with the Ku Klux Klan coverage.

I should also like to point out for the benefit of the Bureau, in connection with this particular group, that it is composed of people who appear to be leaders in their communities and otherwise respected citizens of the communities in which they live. There is in the State of Virginia, based on my general observations and reading of various commentaries in the press, an attitude that the Supreme Court decision in connection with the segregation issue is not only objectionable from the standpoint of its social obligations but is actually an attempt to read into the constitution meanings that were never intended by the Congress. Therefore, it appears that strong opposition will be registered by the people of Virginia and throughout the south through all legal methods available to bring about a repeal of the decision of the Supreme Court. For these reasons, it is my view that while it is the Bureau's duty to investigate any actual violations of Federal laws arising out of this or any other matters within our jurisdiction, it would be unwise at this time to endeavor to develop panel sources or other sources of information for coverage of activities of this particular group, because I feel that any indiscretions which might be exercised by such sources would lead to extreme embarrassment of the Bureau in this area.

This case will, therefore, be kept in a closed status until such time as information is received indicative of the illegal activities on the part of the captioned organization.

WHC:JWW

RECORDED-45

105-32909-4
6 DEC 14 1954

EX-115

71 DEC 13 1954

INT 115

To The People of Virginia

A MESSAGE FROM THE

"Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties"

INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/23/82 BY 1240

A Non-Political . . . Non-Profit Organization Chartered under the Laws of the Commonwealth of Virginia

WE BELIEVE

That, the Constitution establishing a Republic of the Several States of America gave certain enumerated powers to the Federal Government and expressly reserved the remainder of the powers to the several states;
That, the clauses delegating authority to the Federal Government should be strictly construed, and always against the extension of Federal powers, and in favor of the states which compose this Union;
That, each state can best protect the rights and provide for the well-being of the citizens within its jurisdiction;
That, government of one or several of the individual states by the whole is contra to the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the Union States of America;
That, private enterprise by free individuals is the cornerstone of our Republic;
That, concentration of power is one of the greatest internal dangers facing this nation today;
That, the powers and authority of the Federal Government should be strictly separated, and that domestic legislation by decree, judicial decision, treaty, executive fiat, or administrative order is foreign to the Constitution and an encroachment on the inalienable powers and authority of the several states and the Congress of the United States of America;
That, attempts to change the lawful manner, mores, and traditions of any state of these United States of America by any branch of the Federal Government is an infringement of the sovereignty of the states composing this Union;
That, the right to determine separation of the races is a power reserved to the states;
That, those citizens, composing this nation, who believe in the principles cited above, are duty bound in good conscience to employ every lawful means to defend and perpetuate them, to the end that this Republic may continue and prosper.

IF YOU BELIEVE

In this plan and these principles, fill out the application and mail to the Executive Director. The dues of a member are \$10.00 per annum. One who is unable to pay that amount may become a subscribing member upon payment of any sum he elects.
If in your location there is a Chapter of the Defenders, your application will be forwarded to officers of that Chapter. If there be no Chapter in your location, try to become the nucleus around which a Chapter forms. We will be in touch with you.

Contributions beyond membership dues will be most welcome.

We need every Virginian who favors this program, to join with us, to preserve education for the children of our State.

THE DEFENDERS of STATE SOVEREIGNTY and INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES

Invite those who desire our schools to remain separate to join us. Get full details from Wm. E. Massey, Jr., Executive Director, 1516 Travellers Bldg., Richmond, Va.

OFFICERS

Robert B. Crawford, Farmville, Va., President
C. D. Jones, LaCrosse, Va., Vice-President
Wm. B. Cocks, Jr., Sussex, Va., Secretary
E. Floyd Eaton, Powhatan, Va., Treasurer
Wm. E. Massey, Jr., 1210 Travellers Bldg., Richmond, Va., Executive Director
Collier Denny, Jr., 1300 Travellers Bldg., Richmond, Va., Counsel

In Summary the Defenders favor:

1. Constitutional Amendments permitting General Assembly to adopt such laws relating to education as the needs of Virginia demand; and removing the prohibition of appropriation of public monies to private schools;
2. Repeal of all mention of compulsory education;
3. Prohibition of expenditure of any public monies in the maintenance and operation of any integrated public schools;
4. Application of the school funds, available to a locality, to the school expenses of children attending private schools, in the event the public schools of that locality are compelled to close;
5. The immediate call of a special session of the General Assembly to begin the process of amending the Constitution and the initiation of needed legislation;
6. That all those honored with public office in Virginia and particularly those who are now candidates for public office, make known at once, with frankness and candor, what may be their position on this critical school question.

More than a year has passed since the Supreme Court handed down its decision. The above plan is the only concrete plan so far proposed for Virginia. It will prevent mixing of the races in the schools and it will preserve education for all Virginians.

Those who have been intimating that they favor such plans as assignment of pupils to individual schools, co-operation with the court's decision, or "local option," must admit that such proposals do nothing more than delay, for a short while, the full integration of the schools. What difference does it make, as a matter of principle, whether it comes in 1955 or 1956? Each means the ultimate mongrelization of the races.

Application Form

DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY & INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES
Norfolk, P. O. Box 1503 . . . South Norfolk 15, P. O. Box 7583

I hereby apply for membership in the DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES. I am a law abiding citizen of the United States of America, and a resident of the city/county of . . . Virginia. I am not a member of any organization detrimental to the peace and welfare of the U. S. A., nor do I ever intend belonging to any such organization.

I believe the segregation of the races is a right of the State Government; in the sovereignty of the several states and in the freedom of the individual from government controls.

I enclose \$10.00 for membership in the DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES for one year.

Witness my hand this . . . day of . . . 195 . . .

NAME . . .

ADDRESS . . .

105-32909-6
ENCLOSURE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM NO. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

RICHMOND

REPORT MADE AT RICHMOND	DATE WHEN MADE 7/13/55	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 6/9,10,13,14,15, 16,21,30;7/7/55	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] WHC:SL
TITLE DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES		CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY-X	
SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION.			
<p>Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties (DSSIL), chartered by Virginia State Corporation Commission October 26, 1954, with principal office in Richmond, Virginia. Purpose of group as set out in Certificate of Incorporation are to disseminate information concerning fundamental principles and concepts of federal government and regard for federal system; teach and proclaim necessity of federal government restricting itself to proper sphere and preserving sovereignty of states; to instill worth to each individual of liberties citizens of the United States of America have enjoyed and increase determination to defend these liberties by all honorable and lawful means against encroachment; seek by all honorable and lawful means retention by states of full rights and power to regulate within its borders in a manner most conducive to happiness and good of its citizens, its own domestic arrangements and within limits of law to study and investigate, plan and advocate means by which people of each state may enjoy the right and power in domestic matters, whether educational, recreational, economic, social or otherwise, to provide medium through which those desiring to further these purposes may make views known throughout the country and bring to bear influence for accomplishment of same; to cooperate with others adhering to like principles in furtherance of those principles; and in furtherance of principles enumerated. Full text of Certificate of Incorporation set out with list of officers and Board of Directors. WILLIAM B. COCKE, Jr., Secretary of the DSSIL.</p> <p><i>8-19-55 Richmond 7-29-55 Subm to [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]</i></p> <p><i>Let Ark w/ [unclear] 7/13/55</i></p> <p>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 11-24-93 BY 1042 [unclear]</p> <p>AGENCY 2-2-55 REQ. REC'D DATE FORW. 7-28-55 FROM [unclear]</p>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>J. H. [unclear]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT		105-32909-17	
⑤ - Bureau (105-32909) REGISTERED MAIL 2 - Norfolk REGISTERED MAIL 3 - Richmond (105-405)		JUL 17 1955 INDEXED - 70 EX-11	

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50 AUG 2 1955

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quoted by Richmond Times Dispatch 10-27-54 as stating this organization "will act with determination and firmness to retain, by all honorable and legal means, segregated schools." Quoted by press as stating DSSIL had no connection with any other group, was non-political, but inalterably opposed to integration in schools. COLLINS DENNY, Jr., attorney for DSSIL, quoted by newspapers as opposing integration in public schools and advocating abolishing Virginia State statutes requiring all children to attend school. Recommendations of DSSIL to Governor's Committee on Public Education include a special session of Virginia State Legislature, enactment of such laws as welfare of people in Virginia require, enactment of law to permit use of public funds for racially mixed schools and ask that candidates for public office state openly whether or not they can be relied upon to support a program to prevent integration in Virginia Public Schools. Officers of the DSSIL include persons of good repute and high standing. Inquiries failed to disclose any illegal activity or advocacy of illegal activity.

(c)P
sm
DETAILS: AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION

The following is quoted from a certified copy of the Certificate of Incorporation of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, (DSSIL) obtained from the State Corporation Commission at Richmond, Virginia.

"CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION

OF

"DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES

" This is to certify that we, the undersigned, do hereby associate ourselves to incorporate an association under Chapter 13 of Title 13 of the Code of Virginia, 1950, as amended, and to that end, we do by this certificate set forth as follows:

I

" The name of the corporation, hereinafter sometimes referred to as "association", is to be the DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES.

II

"The name of the place wherein the principal office of the association is to be located in this State is the City of Richmond.

III

"The purposes for which this association is formed are: to disseminate amid the people information concerning the fundamental principles and concepts of our federal government and a due regard for that federal system; to teach and proclaim the necessity of the Federal Government restricting itself to its proper sphere and of preserving the sovereignty of the states; to instill a recognition of the worth to each individual of the historic liberties the citizens of the United States have enjoyed, and to increase the determination to defend those liberties by all honorable and lawful means against all efforts to encroach thereon; to seek by all honorable and lawful means the retention by each state of its full right and power to regulate within its borders, in the manner it believes to be most conducive to the happiness and good of its citizens, its own domestic arrangements, and within the limits of the law at any time existing, to study, investigate, plan and advocate means and methods by which the people of each state may enjoy to the full this right and power in any of its domestic matters, whether educational, recreational, economic, social or otherwise; to provide the medium through which those desiring to further these purposes may make their views known throughout the country and may bring to bear in all proper ways their influence for the accomplishment of the same; to cooperate with others adhering to like principles in the furtherance of an effectuation of those principles; and in furtherance of and not in limitation of the above:

"(1) To appoint, employ and retain such legal staff or staffs, firm or firms, and attorney or attorneys as may be necessary or useful in the accomplishment of the above purpose.

"(2) To appoint, employ and retain for the purposes of publicity such individuals, committees, firms, associations and corporations as are necessary or useful for the purpose of acquainting the people with the purposes of this association and for advancing the purposes hereof.

"(3) To publish a magazine, newspaper or other periodical and to employ an editor and such other persons as may be needed or helpful in the operation of same, to make all necessary contracts and do such other needed or useful lawful acts as may be helpful in connection therewith.

"(4) To appoint, employ and retain representatives to present the governing bodies in locality, State and Nation the views of this association and to advocate legislation favorable to those views, to oppose legislation hostile to those views.

"(5) To appoint, employ and retain individuals, firms, corporations or associations for the organization and coordination of associations throughout the State and Nation with purposes similar to those for which this association is formed.

"(6) To take all actions suitable and proper for the accomplishment of any of the purposes or attainment of any of the objects above set forth or which are designed to further the same, either alone or in association with any other corporation, firm or individual; and to do any and every other act or acts, thing or things, which an association of this character may legally do.

IV

"To the extent that it may be possible to do so, a chapter of this association shall be organized in each of the counties and independent cities of Virginia, but there shall be only one chapter in each county and independent city. The members of the several chapters shall be members of this association, but the members of this association shall have no voting power.

V

"This association shall be governed by a Board of Directors whose aggregate number shall not exceed one hundred and fifty (150). The entire voting power shall be vested in the directors who may take any lawful action for or on behalf of the association which might be taken by members having such voting power or by stockholders and directors under any provision of the law of Virginia. There may be one director

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from each chapter. The members of each chapter may nominate one of its members for election by the board of directors as a director of the association. In addition, the Board of Directors shall elect not more than ten directors at large from the membership of the association. In the event of a vacancy amid the directors at large, the Board of Directors shall elect a successor; and in the event of a vacancy occurring amid the directors nominated by any chapter, the Board of Directors may elect a director from that chapter in which the vacancy occurs who shall serve until the Board elect a director from said chapter from nominations submitted by that chapter.

VI

"The Board of Directors may, by a resolution passed by a majority of the whole board, in their discretion, designate not less than 10%, and in no event less than three, nor more than twenty-five, of their number to constitute an Executive Committee who shall have and exercise the powers of the Board of Directors in the management of the business and affairs of the association during the interval between Board meetings to the extent permitted by law.

VII

"The names and residences of the directors who are to manage the affairs of the association for the first year of its existence are as follows:

DIRECTORS

Valentine Southall
Charles T. Moses
Thomas B. Hall, Sr.
William E. Daniel, Jr.
Reuben S. Johns
Frank E. Jones
R. Maclean Smith

RESIDENCES

Amelia Court House, Virginia
Appomattox, Virginia
Buckingham, Virginia
Keysville, Virginia
Cumberland, Virginia
Dinwiddie, Virginia
Kenbridge, Virginia

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R. L. ~~Millirons~~
Ben T. ~~Kensey, Jr.~~
Robert B. ~~Crawford~~
Raymond H. ~~Boelt~~
William B. ~~Cocke, Jr.~~
Fielding L. ~~Wilson~~

South Hill, Virginia
Petersburg, Virginia
Farmville, Virginia
Powhatan, Virginia
Sussex, Virginia
Crewe, Virginia

"The names and residences of the officers of this association for the first year, unless sooner changed by law, are:

OFFICERS	OFFICE	RESIDENCES
Robert B. Crawford	President	Farmville, Virginia
C. D. Jones	Vice-President	LaCrosse, <u>Virginia</u>
William B. Cocke, Jr.	Secretary	Sussex, <u>Virginia</u>
E. Floyd Vates	Treasurer	Powhatan, Virginia

VIII

54
5/1/54
"The period for the duration of the association is unlimited.

IX

"The amount of real estate to which its holdings at any time are to be limited is 1,000 acres.

"Given under our hands, this 26th day of October, 1954.

Charles T. Moses
Wm. B. Cocke Jr.
Wm E. Daniel, Jr.
R. L. Millirons
R. Maclin Smith

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"VIRGINIA:

CITY OF RICHMOND, to-wit:

" I, Mae Anderson, a Notary Public in and for the City of Richmond, State of Virginia, do hereby certify that Wm. B. Tocke, Jr. Wm. E. Daniel, Jr R. L. Millirons, and R. Maclin Smith whose names are signed to the writing above, bearing date on the 26 day of October, 1954, have and each has acknowledged the same before me in my City and State aforesaid.

" Given under my hand this 26 day of October, 1954.

Mae Anderson

Notary Public

My commission expires March 30, 1957

"VIRGINIA:

COUNTY OF PRINCE EDWARD, to-wit:

" I, J. B. Wall, Jr., a Commissioner in Chancery for the Circuit Court of the County of Prince Edward, State of Virginia, do hereby certify that Charles T. Moses, whose name is signed to the writing hereto attached, bearing date on the 26th day of October, 1954, has acknowledged the same before me in my County and State aforesaid.

" Given under my hand this 26 day of October, 1954.

J. B. Wall Jr
~~Commissioner in Chancery~~

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"VIRGINIA:

IN THE Law and Equity COURT OF THE CITY OF RICHMOND:

"The foregoing certificate of incorporation of the DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES was presented to me, Thomas C. Fletcher, Judge of the Law and Equity Court of the City of Richmond, Virginia, in term time, and having been examined by me, I thereupon ascertain and certify hereon that the persons signing and acknowledging the foregoing certificate are of good moral character and suitable and proper persons to be incorporated for the purpose set forth in the said certificate of incorporation, and I further certify that the said certificate of incorporation is, in my opinion, signed and acknowledged in accordance with the requirements of Section 13-222 of the Code of Virginia (1950), for such cases made and provided.

"Given under my hand this 26th day of October, 1954.

Thomas C. Fletcher
JUDGE "

AIMS AND PURPOSES OF GROUP ACCORDING TO PUBLIC STATEMENT:

The Richmond Times Dispatch of October 27, 1954, carried an article captioned "Segregation Organization Gets Charter" on page 1 and 2 of this newspaper, which read as follows: "Following a meeting, held at Hotel Richmond for the discussion of plans, WILLIAM B. COCKE, Jr., Sussex County Clerk of Court and secretary of the organization (DSSIL) said: 'The organization will act with determination and firmness to retain by all honorable and legal means, segregated schools.'

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"COCKE said the organization already has approximately 2,000 members in . . . the 4th District . . . membership fee is \$10."

This article related that COLLINS ~~DENNY~~, Jr., Richmond V.A. attorney, had been retained to present the views of the group to the Governor's Committee on Public Education (GCPE). The article continued: "COCKE said yesterday the group already has 13 chapters in Appomattox, Buckingham, Cumberland, Powhatan, Nottingham, Prince Edward, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Dinwiddie, Sussex, Charlotte, and Amelia Counties and Petersburg.

"COCKE said the group has absolutely no connection with any other group anywhere. He said the organization had been growing slowly since a meeting of about 85 persons, largely from the 4th District, was held October 7, in Blackstone. At that time the plan for the chartering of the Defenders was outlined.

"COCKE said the group wants to 'give expression to the unorganized majority.' He said it is non-political and will assist in any manner to reach a solution to this (segregation) problem for the best interest of all the citizens of Virginia.

'We want to preserve education and progress but we are inalterably opposed to integration in the schools' COCKE said...

An article in the Richmond Times Dispatch of November 16, 1954, entitled "Three Segregation Views Emerge At Hearing Here" appeared on pages 1, 4, and 5. This article gave an account of a meeting of the Governor's Committee on Public Education held at The Mosque, Richmond, Virginia, on November 15, 1954, reportedly attended by approximately 2,000 persons. The chairman of the committee was identified as State Senator Garland Gray, and the purpose of the meeting was said to be to get the views of the people on the subject of racial integration in the public school system of Virginia. The views

of numerous persons were quoted in this article, some opposing and some favoring integration. Among those whose views were related was COLLINS DENNY, Jr., "attorney representing the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties who criticized churchmen for speaking on a . . . sociological and economic question. He declared the Supreme Court would never deny a parent's right to share in the upbringing and education of his child and for that reason, Virginia should try to maintain free and segregated schools within the law.

"He said the state should never force any child to attend an integrated school; and he added that he knows of no law which would require the state to operate public free schools in every area."

An article appearing in the Richmond News Leader on June 1, 1955, captioned "Law To Block Integrated Schools Urged" date-lined Charlottesville, July 1, relates, "A state law prohibiting the use of any state or local tax funds to support integrated schools was urged here last night in a resolution adopted unanimously by the local chapter of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties.

"The meeting heard ROBERT B. CRAWFORD of Farmville, State President of the Defenders, declare that 'the worst obstacle we face in the fight to preserve segregated schools in the South is the white preacher.'"

The article continued: "HOMER G. RICHEY, local Defenders' president, who presided last night, said that if it is left to the localities, 'the Supreme Court will pick them off one by one.'"

"The resolution declared that 'the Supreme Court can declare laws unconstitutional from 'now until doomsday' but it has no power to appropriate money for only school in the nation.'

"It said the Supreme Court decree can be defeated 'by the power of the people over the public purse and their power to deprive integrated schools of the tax money necessary to their support.'

"Both Crawford and Richey said they favored ending the public schools than ever allowing integration of white and Negro children.

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"RICHEY said 'it is better that one generation grow up half educated or not educated at all than to have a mongrelized race 75 to 100 years from now!'"

Richmond News Leader on June 2, 1955, carried a letter to the editor signed COLLINS DENNY, Jr., in which Mr. DENNY is quoted as stating, "It is of vital importance that all of us realize exactly what the United States Supreme Court has held in its 'implementing' decision of May 31, 1955 . . . it would appear that there are those who think there has been some retreat by the Supreme Court from its decision of a year ago. There has been none. Its ultimatum stands."

Mr. DENNY is further quoted in this letter as concluding, "We can, by alteration in our laws, permit the public schools to continue. If, by voluntary action, the people of the locality, both white and Negro, see fit to do so, those schools can remain separate. We must, however, make provision to protect those areas where Negroes may seek to invade the white public schools, so as to permit, if necessary, those schools to be closed for a season and school funds used, if need be, to meet educational expenses in nonpublic schools."

An article appearing in the Richmond News Leader June 3, 1955, captioned "Va. Leaders Asked to Save Segregation" relates: "The Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties today called on the leaders of Virginia to 'come to the support at once of action designed to save our public schools by saving segregation of the races.'"

The article also stated, "In the statement today, the organization said it was 'greatly disturbed that so large a part of the legislative and political leadership of Virginia has remained silent or has misinterpreted' the Supreme Court decree of last Tuesday."

An article appearing in the Richmond Times Dispatch June 9, 1955, captioned "Defenders' Offer 3-Point Plan for State's Schools" by JAMES LATIMER, related: "The Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties last night called for an early special session of the General Assembly to enact legislation that would prevent the expenditure of any public money to operate any racially integrated public school."

"A nine-point 'Plan for Virginia,' adopted by the Defenders' board of directors, was presented to the Gray Commission last night. It urged all public officials 'from United States Senators down' to speak up 'in a forthright manner and to meet the responsibilities' of leadership in prompt action to preserve segregated schools."

The article continued: "In a 2,500-word statement, the Defenders conceded the plan might be termed 'extreme' -- but said 'we are confronted by an 'extreme emergency' that demands speedy action."

The article quoted the so called nine-point plan as stating: "unless something be done now, integration will begin in Virginia, and once begun now, it, like very other vile pestilence, will spread to the point where it has covered the whole body politic." The so called nine-point program as related in the article referred to specifies the action recommended as follows:

"(1) The special session should begin not later than mid-July so that it could start amending the State Constitution.

Amendments Asked

"(2) Section 129 of the Constitution should be amended to give the Assembly power to 'adopt such laws in relation to schools as the welfare of this people requires.'

"(3) Sections 134 and 141 should be changed to authorize use of public funds to subsidize private schools in localities where 'it becomes necessary' to close the public schools.

"(4) All mention of compulsory education should be removed from State law.

"(5) The Assembly should enact such laws as may be needed to prevent the expenditure of \$1 of public monies, State or local, in the support and maintenance of any radically mixed public school."

"Private School Expenses"

"(6) It should also pass laws making money available to meet the private school expenses of children of those localities in which the closing of public schools may be compelled."

"(7) The Defenders pledge their support to this or any better program to preserve segregated schools."

"(8) They call on all candidates for the Assembly in this year's elections to state openly, frankly and fearlessly what, if anything they have to propose, and whether they can be relied upon to give their full support to a program that will prevent integration in Virginia public schools."

"(9) 'Too long have many of those who represent us in the halls of Congress and in the General Assembly remained silent . . . We call upon those who have been honored by the people of Virginia and its localities with public office, elective or appointive, from United States Senators down, now to give their advice to the people of Virginia in a forthright manner and to meet the responsibilities of the leadership to which they have been chosen by assisting to guide us along a road that will preserve our race!'"

IDENTITY OF OFFICERS OF
DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES

The identity of the officers of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties as set forth below was taken from the certificate of incorporation quoted in this report. The comments as to the occupations of these officers listed below was taken from the article appearing in the Richmond Times Dispatch, Richmond, Virginia, dated October 27, 1954 entitled "Segregation Organization Gets Charter."

OFFICERS

President - ROBERT B. CRAWFORD
Farmville, Virginia
Dry Cleaner and for fifteen years a
member of Prince Edward County School
Board

Vice-President - C. D. JONES
LaCrosse, Virginia
Merchant

Secretary - WILLIAM B. COCKE, Jr.
Sussex, Virginia
Sussex County Court Clerk

Treasurer - E. FLOYD YATES
Powhatan, Virginia
Auto dealer and former member
Virginia House of Delegates

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

VALENTINE SOUTHALL, Amelia Court House, Va.
Commonwealth Attorney, Amelia County

CHARLES T. MOSES, Appomattox, Va.
Virginia State Senator

THOMAS B. HALL, SR., Buckingham, Va.
Chairman of the Buckingham County Board of Supervisors

WILLIAM E. DANIEL, JR., Keysville, Va.

FRANK E. JONES, Dinwiddie, Va.
Dinwiddie County Treasurer

REUBEN S. JOHNS, Cumberland, Va.
Chairman of the Cumberland County Board of Supervisors

R. MACLIN SMITH, Kenbridge, Va.
Member of the Virginia State House of Delegates

R. L. MILLIRONS, South Hill, Va.

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BEN T. KENSEY, JR., Petersburg, Va.
Attorney

RAYMOND H. BOELT, Powhatan, Va.
Powhatan County Schoolteacher

ROBERT CRAWFORD, Farmville, Va.
(Identified in list of officers)

WILLIAM B. COCKE, JR., Sussex, Va.
(Identified in list of officers)

FIELDING L. WILSON, Crewe, Va.
Attorney

On June 14, 1955, Richmond Informant [] who has furnished reliable information in the past and has an extensive acquaintance throughout the State of Virginia, advised that he was well acquainted with ROBERT B. CRAWFORD of Farmville, Virginia, who had been publicly identified as president of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, and a member of the board of directors of that group. He said he considered Mr. CRAWFORD to be a high type individual and a loyal American. [] advised that ROBERT B. CRAWFORD had been Department Commander of the American Legion in the State of Virginia in the past years, had been active in civic and charitable work and was the type of man who had supported popular civic movements involving community interests, but it was opinion of [] he would not participate in or condone illegal activities.

On June 16, 1955, C. W. SMITH, Chief of Police, Chesterfield, Virginia, advised that he was acquainted with VALENTINE SOUTHAL, Amelia, Virginia, Commonwealth Attorney, Amelia County, who is a very reputable individual and a man of high standing in his community. Chief advised he was also acquainted with E. FLOYD YATES, of Powhatan, a former member, House of Delegates and publicly identified officer of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, and knew him to be a high type of individual with a good reputation in his community. Chief SMITH also informed that he was acquainted with COLLINS DENNY, Jr., an attorney in Richmond, Virginia, who has been publicly identified as attorney for DSSIL. He said Mr. DENNY was former Assistant Attorney General

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of the Commonwealth of Virginia, was a son of the late Bishop COLLINS DENNY, of the Methodist Church of Virginia, and had the reputation of being an able, high type attorney.

On June 21, 1955, Richmond Informant [redacted] [redacted] Richmond, Virginia, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that he is acquainted with COLLINS DENNY, Jr., an attorney of Richmond, Virginia, publicly identified as attorney for DSSIL, and advised that Mr. DENNY had a good standing in the legal profession for ethics and ability and informant had observed nothing to indicate this individual would engage in or advocate any illegal activity.

MISCELLANEOUS INQUIRIES

On June 10, 1955, [redacted] who has a wide acquaintance throughout State of Virginia in civic and social circles advised that he had knowledge of the formation of DSSIL from reading local newspapers but had no knowledge of the individual officers of this organization and nothing had come to his attention indicating that this group had engaged in illegal activity or advocated any illegal activity. He said from his knowledge of the organization it appeared that this group was interested in continuing segregation in the public school system of Virginia as had been the custom in the past.

On June 14, and June 21, 1955, respectively, Richmond [redacted] and [redacted] referred to above advised that they had no knowledge of any illegal activity on the part of DSSIL or advocacy of illegal activity on the part of this group.

On June 16, 1955, [redacted] [redacted] Richmond Police Department, advised nothing had come to his attention indicating that DSSIL was engaging in or advocating any illegal activity.

On June 16, 1955, C. W. SMITH, Chief of Police, Chesterfield County, advised nothing had come to his attention indicating that DSSIL had engaged in any illegal activity or was advocating such action in their opposition to integration in the public school system.

On June 16, 1955, [redacted] Richmond, advised SAs LEONARD M. WALTERS and [redacted] that he had learned of the existence of DSSIL from newspapers but had heard no information indicating illegal activity on the part of that group. He said he had gathered from information in the newspapers and what he had heard that this was simply a group organized to express opposition to racial integration in the public school system. VA

On June 14, 1955, the following investigation was conducted by SA [redacted]: [redacted] Investigation Section, Provost Marshal's Office USMC, Quantico, Virginia; [redacted] Fredericksburg, Virginia Police Department and Sheriff TURNER WHEELING, Prince William County, Manassas, Virginia, advised they had received no information indicating any illegal activity on the part of DSSIL in their communities or in any other areas of Virginia.

On June 9, 1955, [redacted] Alexandria, Virginia, Police Department advised SA [redacted] that no information had been brought to their attention indicating the existence of DSSIL in the northern part of Virginia. They had heard of no illegal activity on the part of this organization. ADM

On June 15, 1955, [redacted] General Shelby Hotel, Bristol, Virginia, advised SA [redacted] that he had not heard of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties in the Bristol, Virginia area, and to the best of his knowledge the organization has no chapter in southwestern Virginia.

AT DANVILLE, VIRGINIA

[redacted] Danville, Virginia Police Department advised SA [redacted] on June 14, 1955, that he is aware of the fact that an organization known as the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties has been organized in the State of Virginia and that it was his understanding that the group was active only in the general vicinity of Richmond, Virginia. [redacted] advised that to date there has been no efforts made to organize a local chapter of this organization in Danville, Virginia. According to [redacted] he understands that the primary interest of the organization is to prevent integration

of races in public schools and that he further understands the group contemplates operating within legal bounds and does not advocate the use of force or violence, that the organization plans publicity against integration of the races in schools and hopes to induce public officials, such as Congressmen, Senators, members of the Virginia House of Delegates, etc. to oppose integration. Further this group desires to see enacted into state laws certain provisions which will permit the State of Virginia to legally get around integration.

[redacted] went on to say that while there has been no efforts to form a local chapter of this organization he does know that a majority of the white citizens in the Danville area are opposed to integration and that it would not be difficult for someone to organize a local chapter. He said that a majority of the leading and outstanding citizens of the Danville area feel that the recent Supreme Court decision regarding integration of races in public schools was a clear invasion of States Rights and that the people in a local area should be allowed to decide for themselves the question of integration or segregation. He added that he feels sure most of the attorneys, public officials, newspaper editors, and local state officials are opposed to immediate integration, but he does not feel that any of those who oppose integration would resort to force or violence nor would they favor any illegal action to get around compliance with the Supreme Court decision.

[redacted] Danville, Virginia, advised SA [redacted] on June 14, 1955, that he knows of no efforts being made or made in the past to organize a local chapter of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties in Danville. He was of the opinion that a vast majority of the outstanding people in Danville oppose integration and would do most anything within legal bounds to prevent it, however he did not feel that anyone would resort to force or violence in an effort to deny to anyone their rights under the Constitution of the United States.

An editorial appearing in the June 15 issue of the Danville Bee, a Danville daily newspaper, GERALD TETLEY, editor, comments on recent proposals of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties as follows:

"This Is No Political Issue

"The Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Freedom is an organization designed to prevent the abolition of segregation in this state. It has delivered itself of a warmly-couched credo and is calling on all candidates in the July primary to come out into the open and say whether or not they are for mixed classes in the public schools or not. We doubt if this is necessary. What little has yet appeared in connection with the primary campaign--outside Robert Whitehead's insistence, that no matter what happens the free school system must not be abandoned,--little has been said but much understood. We may safely assume that it is not necessary for candidates for office to be prodded into a public statement when it is abundantly clear that they favor the maintaining of segregation.

"We cannot have too many bodies moving down the same track without endless confusion. The Study Commission of 32 members is the board named by Governor Stanley to make some sort of recommendation to the General Assembly, and it is the board which should be allowed the fullest opportunity to arrive at some concrete beliefs. Even if the commission has been too secretive to suit many people, it remains the one authoritative body which, it may be assumed, would regret to see the issue of segregation thrown into a primary campaign which might immediately become dangerously impassioned.

"If the Defenders of State Sovereignty have a plan by which the state can legally find a satisfactory method of running the schools, let it come forward with it for discussion. Up to now, it has been more noisy than it has been constructive and noise alone is not going to be effective in this sort of an issue."

AT MARTINSVILLE, VIRGINIA

[redacted] Martinsville, Virginia, informed SA [redacted] on June 15, 1955, that he is familiar with the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties as a state organization apparently dedicated to getting around integration in public schools, but that as far as he knows there has been no

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effort to form a local chapter of the organization in Martinsville. According to [redacted] a vast majority of the leading people in Martinsville are opposed to integration of the races and will no doubt do everything possible to prevent integration, however he did not feel that anyone would resort to force or violence to prevent integration. He did not know of any efforts being made by any person or group to deny to anyone their rights under the Constitution by use of force or violence.

The following investigation was conducted by SA [redacted]

AT HARRISONBURG, VIRGINIA

Mr. CHARLES A. NELSON, United States Commissioner, Western District of Virginia, on June 20, 1955 said that he is certain that DSSIL does not have any chapters in the Harrisonburg or Rockingham County, Virginia, area. He said he felt that if there were chapters of this organization in Staunton or Waynesboro he would know about it because of the fact he has so many friends that visit him from those areas.

Chief JULIUS RITCHIE of the Harrisonburg Police Department and [redacted] U. S. District Court, Western District of Virginia, on June 20, 1955, both advised that they have no knowledge of the existence of a chapter of DSSIL in the Harrisonburg area.

AT STAUNTON, VIRGINIA

Chief BERNARD GILL, Staunton Police Department, was contacted on June 20, 1955, in regard to this matter and he said that he did not believe that this organization had established a chapter in the Staunton area. Chief GILL said that the people of Augusta County like those of Rockingham County have no particular problems at this time in regard to segregation and, according to his observations, the attitude

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of most people in the area had been rather passive. He said he felt certain that should a group of citizens attempt to start a chapter of this organization in the Staunton area someone would come to him and tell him about it.

Mr. GUY O. FARLEY, U. S. Commissioner, Court House Square, Staunton, Virginia, advised on June 20, 1955, that although he feels certain there is no chapter of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties in the Staunton area there is a possibility they might have attempted to solicit membership in the area. He informed he received a letter several months ago with literature he thinks was sent by this organization and although he did not read it carefully believes they were asking him to subscribe with a payment of \$10.00. He said that the only reason he recalled this was because an old friend, ROBERT CRAWFORD of Farmville, Virginia, was the one who sent him this letter and as well as he could recall CRAWFORD held an office in the organization. He said he knew CRAWFORD because they were both in the dry cleaning business and contacted each other occasionally. He stated he placed no particular significance in this letter and threw it in the waste paper basket before reading it in its entirety. Mr. FARLEY said that should he receive any further correspondence or literature from CRAWFORD he would advise and hold it for the interviewing agent.

AT LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

[redacted] and [redacted] both Lynchburg, advised SA [redacted] on June 10, 1955, that they had no knowledge of the DSSIL in the Lynchburg area. They advised that if any information indicating illegal activity on the part of this organization came to their attention they would report same to this office.

AT PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA

On June 13, 1955, Chief of Police WILLARD E. TRAYLOR, Petersburg, advised SA [redacted] he recalled reading in the newspapers about the formation of the DSSIL some months ago. He stated that a chapter of the group had been formed in Petersburg, Virginia, and was composed of many leading citizens and persons of high standing in that community. He identified two of the leaders of the Petersburg Chapter as RICHARD W. BOISSEAU, [redacted] and TAYLOR B. WILLIS, [redacted].

[redacted] He identified BOISSEAU as president-treasurer, James A. Rosenstock, Inc., a men's store 107 North Sycamore Street Petersburg, and said that WILLIS is secretary-treasurer of Heath and Parsons Feed Company, Inc., 9 West Old Street, Petersburg. Chief TRAYLOR said that he had heard there was also a chapter of DSSIL in Dinwiddie, Virginia, but wasn't aware of the identity of any of the officers or members of that group. According to Chief TRAYLOR it is his understanding that DSSIL was formed to oppose in any legal manner racial integration in the public schools. He has not heard of any meeting of the organization or any public statements indictive of illegal activity or the advocacy of same.

On June 21, 1955, [redacted] Petersburg, Virginia, advised SA [redacted] that he was aware of the existence of DSSIL and the fact that a chapter of this organization had been formed in Petersburg, Virginia. He advised that he had been invited to join the group but had declined to do so

[redacted] advised that all of the members of DSSIL that he knows are "upright citizens" who take an active part in civic affairs. He said he did not feel that any of those members known to him would take any part in any scheme or plot to violate any laws of the United States. It was his opinion that this organization was formed to raise funds to engage a legal expert on Constitutional law to do research on public education and laws pertaining to this field and prepare a legal brief to assist the Attorney General of the State of Virginia in answering the decision of the United States Supreme Court on the matter of integration in the public schools. [redacted] expressed the opinion that DSSIL would do everything in its power that is legal to circumvent the Supreme Court's decision but would not adopt any policy of advocating force or violence. He felt that if integration in the public schools is legally enforced and becomes mandatory in Virginia, this organization would disband and no longer fight the Supreme Court's decision.

[redacted] stated that while he could furnish the names of some of the members of the Petersburg chapter, he would prefer not to do so [redacted] He stated, however, that if he learned of any activity of this group indicating contemplated acts of force or violence or advocating such activity, he would immediately notify the FBI.

The Progress-Index, Petersburg, Virginia, on June 21, 1955, carried an article on page 9, captioned "Segregation Reaffirmed By Dinwiddie Defenders," stated in part as follows:

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"The abolishment of public schools was called a preferable choice to the abandonment of enforced segregation by Collins Denny Jr. speaking to Dinwiddie Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties last night.

The Dinwiddie chapter of the pre-segregation organization also heard Charles L. Knott, chairman of the Board of Supervisors, report that the board had sent the governor resolutions expressing its opposition to integration and requesting a special session of the legislature. VA

The Dinwiddie Defenders voted unanimously to present a resolution to the Governor requesting that he call a special session of the General Assembly before August 1."

AT RADFORD, VIRGINIA

On June 16, 1955, Chief of Police C. A. FARMER, Radford, and [redacted] Radford Arsenal, advised SA [redacted] that they had not heard of the DSSIL existing in Radford, Virginia, or that vicinity. Both of these individuals pointed out that in the Radford area the Negro population is small and the question of racial integration in the public schools is not of such intense interest in that area as it is in other areas of Virginia and the South.

AT ROANOKE, VIRGINIA

The following investigation was conducted on June 10, 1955, by SA [redacted]

[redacted] Roanoke, Virginia, and [redacted] Ponce de Leon Hotel, Roanoke, Virginia, were contacted regarding instant case.

Each stated that he knew of no existence of any local chapter of the above-captioned organization at Roanoke, nor had any information come to their attention indicating the anticipated organization of the same at Roanoke.

Each stated that any information coming to their attention regarding this matter would be brought to the attention of SA [redacted]

On June 10, 1955, the Roanoke Times, Roanoke, Virginia, carried an editorial captioned "The Answer Is Not in Politics," from which the following pertinent quotation has been taken.

"The Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberty is an organization of Virginians whose aim is to prevent desegregation in the public schools. It has a program which calls for placing in the hands of the General Assembly the power of virtual life or death over the education system. Not one dollar of State or local revenue should be spent for the support and maintenance of 'any racially mixed public school,' says a statement by the group.

"Unless something is done immediately, the Defenders warn, integration will start in Virginia and once it is begun, 'it, like every other vile pestilence, will spread to the point where it has covered the whole body politic.'

"We do not dispute the organization's right to defend segregation and advocate use of every legal means to preserve it. But we do question the Defenders' wisdom in proposing that the issue be thrown into the coming General Assembly election campaign. It is to be taken for granted that practically all of the candidates want to preserve segregated schools. It seems to us, in view of the Supreme Court's directive, that the question is no longer one of preventing some degree of integration but of preventing destruction of the public education system.

"It is disturbing to hear the Defenders call upon all candidates to declare 'whether they can be relied upon to give their full support' to a program such as the organization advocates. If the people of Virginia were to listen to inflammatory campaign statements, their chances of solving their difficulties in a calm and reasoned manner would be slight indeed."

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INFORMANTS

Informant [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Richmond, Virginia, whose identity is being protected at his request.

[REDACTED]
Richmond, Virginia, whose identity is being protected in view of his position. It is noted that he was not consulted for any opinion, but for information based on [REDACTED] and his civic interests.

For the Bureau's information, careful consideration has been given to the utilization of T symbols and these have been used only where deemed necessary.

All of the persons contacted in connection with the investigation set out herein are deemed reliable, discreet and trustworthy individuals.

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

NORFOLK DIVISION

AT NORFOLK, VIRGINIA:

Will conduct inquiries concerning the activities of DSSIL and persons connected therewith as requested in Bulet to Norfolk: 7-11-55 and submit report.

RICHMOND DIVISION

AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA:

Will contact J. E. LAWLER, vice president, Union Life Insurance Company, 11 N. 6th Street, a former SA of

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FBI who has a wide knowledge of civic, political and social groups in Virginia for any pertinent information concerning DSSIL.

If Norfolk inquiries and further inquiries at Richmond fail to disclose any illegal activities on the part of DSSIL or its members, submit a closing report in accord with SAC letter 55-40 (N).

REFERENCES

Bureau letter to Richmond 5-24-55.
Bureau letter to Norfolk 7-11-55.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM NO. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

RICHMOND

REPORT MADE AT RICHMOND	DATE WHEN MADE 9/23/55	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 8/30, 31; 9/13, 14, 20-22/55	REPORT MADE BY WHC-fec
TITLE DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES		CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - X	
SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: <p>Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties (DSSIL), headquarters located at Room 1210, Travelers Building, Richmond, Virginia, Post Office Box Number 1918, Richmond, Virginia. First issue of "The Defenders News and Views" organ of DSSIL published in August, 1955, which identifies current officers of this organization with no change except the addition of WILLIAM E. MAXEY, JR. of Powhatan, Va., as Executive Director. "The Defenders News and Views" also identifies secretaries of local chapters of DSSIL, encourages formation of more chapters and specifies that 20 members are necessary to form a local chapter. Richmond News Leader 8/31/55 carried an article identifying officers and members of newly formed chapter of DSSIL, Chesterfield County, Va. Background obtained on officials and members reflects these individuals are community leaders and respected citizens. Richmond News Leader 9/6/55 reflected chapter would be formed in Henrico County, Va., and temporary officials identified. No derogatory information developed on these officials. August, 1955, issue of "Virginia Record" carried article on DSSIL, its creed and background on officials of this group. Article in Richmond Times-Dispatch 9/12/55 reported DSSIL has 28 chapters in Virginia with membership of 5,000. On occasion of pretext visit to headquarters of DSSIL, Richmond, Va., 9/13/55, WILLIAM E. MAXEY, JR. furnished several pieces of literature being distributed by DSSIL, which includes reprint</p>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED 8 H A		SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE ENCLOSURE	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 2 - Bureau (105-32909) (Encls. 9) RM 2 - Norfolk (105-236) RM 5 - Richmond (105-405) RM COPIES DESTROYED 292 APR 14 1972		DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES 105-32909-11 SEP 26 1955 RECORDED - 76 INDEXED - 45 EX-171	

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from Congressional Record of remarks of Congressman WATKINS M. ABBITT of Virginia concerning formation of DSSIL, reprint of speech of Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND from Mississippi in U. S. Senate 5/26/55 which was critical of the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court concerning segregation in public schools and which relates that the "scientific authorities" on which U. S. Supreme Court relied to some extent for basis of its decision consisted in part of several individuals having long records of Communist front affiliations as well as a Swedish Socialist University professor who had described Constitution of the U. S. as "impracticable and unsuited to modern conditions" and claimed its adoption "was nearly a plot against the common people". Other literature, all opposed to racial integration in public schools, including "SEGREGATION God's Plan and God's purpose", "A Negro deplores the Segregation Decision", "A Southern View of Segregation", "Negroes Menaced by Red Plot" and reprint of letter and reply from "The Committee of 100" seeking to raise funds in support of NACCP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. dated 5/21/54 and "A Plan for Virginia" devised by DSSIL. Back of latter pamphlet contains application for membership in DSSIL for fee of \$10. Application contains statement or certification of applicant "I am not a member of any organization detrimental to the peace and welfare of the U. S. A., nor do I ever intend belonging to any such organization". Additional inquiries revealed no indication of illegal activity by DSSIL.

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2(5)DETAILS: AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIALOCATION OF HEADQUARTERS OF DSSIL

On August 21, 1955, a pretext telephone call to the office of COLLINS DENNY, JR., Attorney, Richmond, Virginia, and Counsel of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, hereafter referred to as DSSIL, resulted in advice born that headquarters of DSSIL was located at 1210 Travelers in Richmond Building, Richmond, Virginia, telephone number 2-8924. born 1899

The Richmond Times Dispatch of September 8, 1955, 11.5 carried a block add captioned "ARE YOU CONCERNED", which read as follows: "Everyone interested in the future of public schools is invited to a meeting at the Douglas S. Freeman High School on Three Chopt Road near Ridge Road, Friday,

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September 9 at 8PM. Collins Denny, Jr., counsel for the Defenders will discuss the effects of integration upon the people of this area". The add is signed "Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, P. O. Box 1916, Richmond, Virginia".

On September 22, 1955, Informant [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Post Office Box 1916, Richmond, Virginia, had been rented to the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties during late May, 1955. [redacted] advised that the application for the box had been *Europeen* made by WILLIAM E. MAXEY, JR., who described himself as *theater of* Executive Director, DSSIL, 1210 Traveler's Building, Richmond, Virginia, [redacted] *WZR*

ORGAN OF DSSIL

On September 20, 1955, [redacted] Clerk, FBI, Richmond, Virginia, advised that on September 18, 1955, [redacted] Virginia, [redacted]

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[redacted] had given him a copy of "The Defenders' News and Views", page one of which reflects that it is "Published by Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, 1210 Traveler's Building, Richmond, Virginia". This is the August, 1955, issue, Volume 1, Number 1. This is a four page publication, the first page of which states:

"In recent months our membership has grown to such proportions that we are having difficulty keeping in touch with each other. We are proud of our membership growth and chapter expansion. It means progress. We feel that you naturally want to know what is happening in various parts of our Commonwealth through the efforts of our members. We know you have ideas which should be shared with all who have joined our ranks. Our NEWS AND VIEWS publication can disseminate the facts to serve such a purpose. You will hear from us often. Drop a line to our State Office, let us know what you are doing and thinking in your community, and what you would like to hear from us."

IDENTIFICATION AND LOCATION OF OFFICERS OF LOCAL CHAPTERS DSSIL

Page two of the August, 1955, issue of "The Defenders"

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"News and Views" sets forth a list of the names and residences of the officers of DSSIL from which it is noted that the list remains the same except for the addition WILLIAM E. MAXEY, JR., Executive Director, Powhatan, Virginia. Set forth under the heading of ".....your chapters - and their secretaries....." is the following:

Amelia	Cumberland
Mr. R. E. ARRINGTON	Mrs. ROBBIE S. WHITLOCK
Amelia, Virginia	Cartersville, Virginia
Appomattox	Dinwiddie
Mr. JOHN G. PLUNKETT	Mr. W. E. BOLTE
Appomattox, Virginia	Dinwiddie, Virginia
Arlington	Fairfax
Mr. WILLIAM HALL	Mrs. CLYDE C. MILLER
1043 N. Monroe Street	Route 3, Fairfax, Virginia
Arlington, Virginia	
Brunswick	Greenville
Mr. J. B. ORGAIN, JR.	Mr. M. A. TAYLOR
Alberta, Virginia	Emporia, Virginia
Buckingham	Lunenburg
Mr. WAYNE DAWSON	Mr. AUBREY CHANDLER
Dillwyn, Virginia	Victoria, Virginia
Campbell	Mecklenburg
Mr. W. R. HERNDON	Mr. V. C. DANIALS
H & L Chevrolet Motor Co.	Boydton, Virginia
Brookneal, Virginia	
Charlotte	Norfolk
Mr. W. S. CROUCH	Mr. J. E. BLOODWORTH
Drakes Branch, Virginia	4133 Granby Street
	Norfolk, Virginia
Charlottesville	Nottoway
Prof. S. J. MAKIELSKI	Mrs. HELEN G. WILSON
Barracks Road	P. O. Box 390
Charlottesville, Virginia	Chase, Virginia
Chesterfield	Petersburg
Mr. LEMUEL M. LLEWELLYN	Mr. HEATH P. LAMB
Route 8, Richmond, Virginia	2017 Matteson Avenue
	Petersburg, Virginia

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Powhatan

Mr. R. H. ~~BOELT~~
Powhatan, Virginia

Southampton

Dr. L. ~~A. BRANCH~~
Franklin, Virginia

Prince Edward

Mr. T. W. ~~BROOKS, JR.~~
P. O. Box 2, Farmville,
Virginia

Sussex

Mr. J. N. ~~BARKER~~
Wakefield, Virginia

South Norfolk

Mr. Donald ~~Liverman~~
P. O. Box 7983
South Norfolk 15, Virginia

Surry

Mr. T. ~~LINWOOD GOFER~~
Surry, Virginia

Page three relates "We also have members in the following cities and counties:

Accomac	Hanover	Orange
Caroline	Henrico	Pittsylvania
Clarke	Isle of Wight	Prince George
Colonial Heights	King William	Portsmouth
Fauquier	Louisa	Richmond City
Fredericksburg	Lynchburg	Spotsylvania
Gloucester	Nansemond	Warren
Goochland	Nelson	Williamsburg
Halifax	Norfolk County	Princess Anne"

EFFORTS TO ORGANIZE ADDITIONAL CHAPTERS DSSIL

The following is quoted from page three of the August, 1955, issue of "The Defenders' News and Views":

"If there is not a chapter in your community ...

1. Encourage your friends and neighbors to send in ~~their~~ application to our Richmond Office. Write for copies of A Plan for Virginia.
2. Send a list of prospective members to the Executive Director for his files and ask him to send you the names of those in your community who already belong.
3. Use this list as a nucleus for holding an organizational meeting to which all interested persons are invited.

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4. Ask a state officer or someone from an adjoining community chapter to come to this meeting to help you organize.
5. Explain the purposes of the organization. Give our material on the subject. Ask State Office to send material available. Solicit dues. Plan how you may help to carry out the principles of the Defenders.
6. Remember, it takes only 20 members to form a chapter. This gives an organized unit representation on the board of directors.
7. If you move, ask the secretary of your chapter to send a note of transfer to the State Office. The Executive Director will notify you of a chapter or members in your new locality."

COMMENTS CONTAINED IN "DEFENDERS' NEWS AND VIEWS"
CONCERNING INTEGRATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Page four of the August, 1955, issue of "The Defenders' News and Views" carries the following:

"On July 11, the Richmond Times-Dispatch carried the following letter on its editorial page. Because of its significance, it was re-printed by the Richmond News Leader on July 12:

'The white population in the District of Columbia public schools is declining at a phenomenal rate. The first year of integrated schools reduced the white students to 39 per cent of the total enrollment, and indications are that this decline will continue. Among this 39 per cent are children who live in an all-white residential area and who have felt no impact of integration whatsoever; while others are being subjected to unreasonable social changes which we do not believe are in effect anywhere else in the United States.

'Several citizens' associations in the District of Columbia are considering going to the lower Federal District Court to seek relief for

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little children who have been placed in the position of being a very small minority. In some schools three or four white children are in schools with several hundred Negroes and all-Negro faculty. School authorities concede that the standards of education for Negro schools are far below those of white, so that in addition to the emotional and sociological shock to these children, their education is actually being impaired.

'One member of the D. C. school board who has consistently voted for compulsory speedy integration (but who does not submit his own children to these conditions), was asked by a reporter if he did not feel that some relief should be afforded these children. His reply: "They are not captive children; they can move." That is just what a very large percentage of the people of the District of Columbia are doing. The mass exodus to the suburbs in Maryland and Virginia is shaking the foundation of property values in the nation's capital.

'The President of the United States has said he wanted the District of Columbia to serve as a model for the nation in integrating the public schools. If we can be said to be a model for anything, the experience here should serve as a warning to the rest of the country of what not to let happen to their community.

'GLADYCE G. MUSE, Secretary
D.C. Public Schools Association
Washington, D. C.'

LOCAL CHAPTER DSSIL FORMED IN CHESTERFIELD COUNTY,
VIRGINIA

The Richmond News Leader of August 31, 1955, carried an article captioned "SEGREGATION MEMBERSHIP DRIVE BEGINS", which related that the Chesterfield County, Virginia, Chapter of DSSIL had held its first meeting since being organized on August 30, 1955. The article identifies the following as officials of the Chesterfield Chapter:

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J. J. ~~JEWETT~~, an attorney of Midlothian, Virginia,
President;

APPR 30 YRS OF AGE
B. C. ~~HEATH~~, JR., Midlothian, Virginia, Chairman
of Membership Committee;

JOHN W. ~~RUSSELL~~, a residence of U. S. Route 60
and a lawyer, Vice-President;

Le-muel Morgan Llewellyn
L. M. ~~LLEWELLYN~~, a resident of the Wagstaff *Age*
Circle area and an employee of Railway Express, Secretary *44*

EDWARD A. ~~MOSELEY~~, JR., an official in a printing
company and a farmer, who resides in the Clover Hill
District near Hallsboro, Treasurer.

The article continued that WILLIAM ~~OLD~~, an
attorney and Chairman of the Chesterfield County School Trustees
Electoral Board, is Chairman of the Chesterfield County Board
of Directors of DSSIL. Other members were identified as
MAX R. ~~SCHOOLS~~, Principal, Midlothian High School; Dr. W. P.
~~MORRISETTE~~ of Midlothian; T. D. ~~WATKINS~~, Midlothian; E. H.
~~ISBELL~~; GEORGE ~~MOORESSON~~; Dr. JAMES E. ~~FRANSONE~~ of Bon
Air and ALDEN J. ~~MORNER~~, JR., members of the Board of
Directors, DSSIL, Chesterfield County. This article reflected
that talks were made at the meeting on August 30, 1955 by
WILLIAM E. MAXEY, JR of Powhatan, and WILLIAM OLD, referred
to above, but the nature of their talks was not commented upon.

On September 22, 1955, [REDACTED] b7C
[REDACTED] advised that he was personally
acquainted with the following individuals identified above
as being officials or members of the Chesterfield Chapter,
DSSIL and commented upon each as follows:

JERRY J. ~~JEWETT~~, Midlothian, Virginia, President,
Chesterfield Chapter, DSSIL. This individual is an attorney
with offices located in the Traveler's Building, Richmond, Virginia. He is a fine and respected citizen, [REDACTED] b7C

AGE APPROX 30
BENJAMIN C. ~~HEATH~~, JR., Midlothian, Virginia,
Vice-President, Chesterfield Chapter, DSSIL. HEATH is in his
late 20's, operator of a general store with his father on

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U. S. Route 60 just West of Midlothian in Chesterfield County.
He is a respected citizen of the community.

[REDACTED]

JOHN W. RUSSELL, a resident of the western part of Chesterfield County, Virginia, and Vice-President, DSSIL, Chesterfield Chapter. RUSSELL is in his mid 30's; he is an attorney and his law office is located in the Traveler's Building, Richmond, Virginia. His father before him, CHARLES RUSSELL, was also an attorney. Both the RUSSELLS were of good repute and high-type people. [REDACTED] b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] said he was also personally acquainted with the following additional persons associated with DSSIL in Chesterfield County as indicated above:

MAXWELL R. SCHOOLS, Midlothian, Virginia;
Dr. W. P. MORRISETTE, Midlothian, Virginia;
T. D. WATKINS, Midlothian, Virginia;
E. H. ISBELL; Wagstaff Circle, Chesterfield County, Richmond, Virginia;
GEORGE A. McKESSON, [REDACTED] (Route 360), Richmond, Virginia; b7C
ALDEN J. HORNER, JR., Route 360, about 8 miles west of Richmond.

According to [REDACTED] all of the above individuals are known to him as respected members of society, who are active in civic and community affairs and are people of the type who would have nothing to do with any illegal activities.

On September 21, 1955, [REDACTED] Richmond Credit Bureau, furnished SE [REDACTED] the following information concerning the individuals listed above as officials of the Chesterfield County Chapter, DSSIL:

[REDACTED]

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moseley *Mr's*
mosley EDWARD A. MOSELEY, JR., Hallsboro, Virginia; wife's name [redacted] employed Dietz Printing Company, Richmond, Virginia, as bookkeeper; [redacted]

k *Llewellyn* L. M. LLEWELLYN, Wagstaff Circle, Richmond, Virginia, complete name *Llewellyn* LLEWELLYN; wife's name [redacted] Richmond; employed Railway Express Company, Richmond; age about 40; [redacted] *va.*

Mrs JERRY J. JEWETT, Midlothian, Virginia; wife [redacted] *Jewett* attorney; graduate of T. C. Williams Law School, University of Richmond; [redacted] *va.*

Heath *Mrs* BENJAMIN O. HEATH, JR., Midlothian, Virginia; wife, [redacted] age 24 (1949); occupation, grocer, Midlothian, Virginia; [redacted]

LOCAL CHAPTER DSSIL FORMED IN HENRICO COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Richmond News Leader of September 6, 1955, carried an article captioned "ANTI INTEGRATION GROUP TO ELECT" reflects that a chapter of DSSIL had been formed in Henrico County, Virginia, the temporary Chairman of which was identified as HENRY S. HOTCHKISS, SR., River Road, Richmond, and the Secretary-Treasurer as being Mrs. CHARLES W. REYNOLDS, 5902 Morningside Drive, Richmond, Virginia. b7C

Defenders of State Sovereignty & Individual Liberties
On September 14, 1955, [redacted] Henrico County Police Department, advised that he was personally acquainted with HENRY HOTCHKISS, SR., who resides at the intersection of College and River Roads, Richmond. He advised that Mr. HOTCHKISS is a retired business man of considerable wealth, a reputable citizen, and a community leader. *Henrico Co* *va.*

On September 21, 1955, [redacted] the Richmond Credit Bureau, advised SE [redacted] the records of the Richmond Credit Bureau reflect that Mr. HENRY S. HOTCHKISS, SR. is a former Vice-President of the Central National Bank, Richmond, and a Vice-President of the American Bank and Trust Company. [redacted]

There was no further pertinent information.

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On September 21, 1955, [redacted] identified above, advised SE [redacted] that the files of the Richmond Credit Bureau reflect that [redacted] Richmond, Virginia, is the wife of [redacted] [redacted] the credit records at present are satisfactory.

On September 21, 1955, [redacted] Richmond Police Department, advised SE [redacted] that the records of that office contained no record of [redacted]

COMMENTARY ON DSSII CARRIED IN
AUGUST, 1955, ISSUE OF THE
"VIRGINIA RECORD"

On September 14, 1955, Chief of Police W. E. TRAYLOR, Petersburg, Virginia, advised SA [redacted] that nothing had come to his attention since previously contacted indicating any illegal activity on the part of DSSII, but he had noted from the August issue of "Virginia Record" an article concerning DSSII. Chief TRAYLOR furnished SA [redacted] a copy of the August, 1955 issue of "Virginia Record", described in the masthead as an independent publication founded in 1878 "to tell the Virginia story". It is published monthly at the State Capital by Virginia Publishers Wing, Inc. An article beginning on page 26 of this publication captioned "THE DEFENDERS" states in part as follows:

"Last year, shortly after the controversial Supreme Court decision of May 17, a group of disturbed Virginians in the Fourth Congressional District got together. Individually, each had already been concerned over the Federal Government's increasing encroachment on state sovereignty. But the May 17 edict was the proverbial last straw and they swung into action.

"On October 26, as a result of this, the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties was incorporated.

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~~SECRET~~
Stressing their stand on state sovereignty, the charter members also emphasized that, far from holding any hatred for the Negro, they would work for the benefit of both races and that they were by no means advocating the abolition of education.

"Their creed is expressed in a brochure which was prepared towards their goal of a local chapter in every county and city.

"WE BELIEVE

That, the Constitution establishing a Republic of the Several States of America gave certain enumerated powers to the Federal Government and expressly reserved the remainder of the powers to the several states;

That, the clauses delegating authority to the Federal Government should be strictly construed, and always against the extension of Federal powers, and in favor of the states which compose this Union;

That, each state can best protect the rights and provide for the well-being of the citizens within its jurisdiction;

That, government of one or several of the individual states by the whole is contra to the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States of America;

That, private enterprise by free individuals is the cornerstone of our Republic;

That, concentration of power is one of the greatest internal dangers facing this nation today;

That, the powers and authority of the Federal Government should be strictly separated, and that domestic legislation by decree, judicial decision, treaty, executive fiat, or administrative order is foreign to the Constitution and an encroachment on the inalienable powers and authority of the several states and the Congress of the United States of America;

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That, attempts to change the lawful manner, mores, and traditions of any state of these United States of America by any branch of the Federal Government is an infringement of the sovereignty of the states composing this Union;
That, the right to determine segregation of the races is a power reserved to the states;
That, those citizens, composing this nation, who believe in the principles cited above, are duty bound in good conscience to employ every lawful means to defend and perpetuate them, to the end that this Republic may continue and prosper."

Defenders of State Sovereignty & Individual Liberties

The article continues to identify by name the officials and members of the Board of Directors of DSSIL and carries the following biographical data concerning the officers of DSSIL:

ROBERT B. CRAWFORD, President. A native of Augusta County, attended Augusta Military Academy and Virginia Polytechnic Institute; veteran of World War I; past President, Farmville Rotary Club; Chairman of the School Board; President of the School Trustee Association of Virginia; President, Southside Community Hospital; member of Virginia Division of the American Cancer Society; member of the Board of Directors of the Automobile Club of Virginia, member of the Board of Directors, Piedmont Area Council Boy Scouts of America; holds Scout leadership award, the Silver Beaver; past Department Commander, American Legion, Department of Virginia; owner and operator of Kilcare Laundry, Farmville, Virginia; past President of Virginia Laundry and Dry Cleaners Association; past National Committeeman, American Legion; and currently Chairman of the American Legion Legislative Committee.

The magazine carries the following comment concerning WILLIAM E. MAXEY, JR., Executive Director, DSSIL: A native of Powhatan County; veteran of three years in United States Army during World War II, two of which were spent in the European Theater; President of Powhatan Parent-Teachers Association; County Chairman of the American Red Cross; 32nd degree Scottish Rite Mason and a Shriner; member of Powhatan Ruritan Club; and a gunnery officer in a heavy mortar company of National Guard; he is married and has two children.

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*Defenders of State Sovereignty
Individual Liberties*

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CLIFFORD DAVIS JONES, La Crosse, Virginia, Vice-President, DSSIL, born in October, 1907 in La Crosse, Virginia; attended Smithdeal Business College; served on Mecklenburg School Board for eight years; member of Town Council, three terms; presently member of Mecklenburg County Electoral School Board.

W. B. COCKE, JR., Sussex, Virginia, Secretary, DSSIL; born in Sussex County in 1910; educated in public schools, Fort Union Military Academy; he is a farmer; presently serves as Clerk of the Circuit Court, Sussex County.

E. FLOYD YATES, Powhatan, Virginia, Treasurer of DSSIL; a native of Charles City County, Virginia; operates Ford Automobile dealership, and Ford Farm Machinery Store, Powhatan, Virginia; he is a wholesale distributor for gasoline and oil; was member of Virginia State Legislature for 12 years; President of "Many civic and community organizations, such as Red Cross, PTA, and others"; he is a member of County Board of Supervisors; a substitute Trial Justice; a District Governor of Ruritan; member of Board of Directors of the Bank of Powhatan, and State President of the Virginia Wildlife Federation.

COLLINS DENNY, JR., Midlothian, Virginia, Counsel of DSSIL, is described as born in Nashville in 1899; the son of COLLINS DENNY, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; received BA Degree from Princeton in 1921; LLB, University of Richmond, 1924; member of Phi Beta Kappa and Phi Delta Phi Fraternities; member of the Richmond, Virginia and American Bar Associations; served as Second Lieutenant World War I; former Assistant Attorney General, State of Virginia; member of Commonwealth Club and Country Club of Virginia; resides Monocan Farm, Midlothian.

An article appearing in the Richmond Times Dispatch, September 12, 1955, captioned "ACTIVITY ON SEGREGATION ISSUE DUE TO SPURT" relates that the DSSIL now have 28 active chapters and "officials say there are approximately 5,000 members in the organization". This article related that "Friday night more than 300 persons attended a meeting at Freeman (Douglas Freeman) High School (Henrico County near

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Richmond, Virginia) called the defenders in an effort to organize a chapter in Henrico County." The article continued "COLLINS DENNY, JR., Attorney for the Defense, said flatly that the public school system as it is known now would be dead by the end of the current term. He disagreed with those who are against segregation but oppose changes in the school system, and contended that it would be necessary to make many changes in the system if segregation was to be maintained. Segregation could be maintained, he said, if enough persons showed enough determination."

NATURE OF LITERATURE DISTRIBUTED BY DSSIL

On September 13, 1955, Reporting Agent under appropriate pretext visited the Headquarters of DSSIL, 1210 Traveler's Building, Richmond, Virginia. One man, introducing himself as WILLIAM E. MAXEY, JR., was on duty in the office. Mr. MAXEY furnished copies of the following material he said DSSIL was making "available to the people for their study and consideration" in connection with the public school segregation issue.

1. Reprint from "Congressional Record"; 84th Congress, First Session entitled "A PLAN FOR VIRGINIA" Extension of remarks of Hon. WATKINS M. ABBITT of Virginia in the House of Representatives, June 9, 1955. "Mr. Abbitt. Mr. Speaker, the people of Virginia are now in great distress because of the recent deplorable ruling of the Supreme Court of the United States declaring segregation in the schools unconstitutional....."

"In an endeavor to acquaint the public with the problem and to preserve for our people their individual liberties which are being gradually taken from them by a grasping arm of the Federal Government, an organization has been formed in Virginia known as the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties....." The Reprint continued with a quotation of "A Plan for Virginia" presented by DSSIL, the substance of which has been previously reported.

2. Reprint from July, 1955, issue of "Virginia

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Record" an article entitled "STAND UP AND BE COUNTED" by CLIFFORD DOWDEY, Editor, "Virginia Record". The substance of this article is critical of the postponement of action in opposition to the racial integration in public schools.

3. Reprint of a letter dated May 21, 1954, from HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK, "The 'Committee of 100'", 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York, which is in support of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund and is seeking to get contributions on behalf of this organization. Reprint of a letter from CHARLES J. WILLIAMS, Jacksonville, Florida, dated June 3, 1954, to Reverend HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK, "The 'Committee of 100'" in which WILLIAMS replies to Mr. FOSDICK's letter, disapproves of the functions of Mr. FOSDICK's committee and points out that the name of the "head of the Socialist Party and the names of several others who have been affiliated with Communist organizations and pressure groups" appears as members of the Committee of 100. As a part of this reprint there also appears an analysis of the Committee of 100 from the standpoint of occupation and identification of 97 of the members of this committee from "Who's who in America" and other public sources.

4. A four page pamphlet entitled "Southern View of Segregation" by GARLAND B. PORTER reprinted from "Southern Advertising and Printing" by BOSSIL. This consists of reproductions of editorials written by GARLAND B. PORTER captioned as follows: "WHAT IS HAPPENING TO THE NEGRO?", "SEGREGATION NOT A MORAL ISSUE", "PROGRESS MADE IN SEGREGATED SCHOOL SYSTEM", "14TH AMENDMENT CLEAR-COURT DECISION QUESTIONED", "FATE OF SOUTHERN NEGRO TEACHERS IMPORTANT" and "RACES HAVE DEFINITE CHARACTERISTICS". These articles take issue with the Supreme Court decision and are in opposition to racial integration in the public schools of the south.

5. A two page pamphlet captioned "Negroes Menaced by Red Plot" published by Citizens Grass Roots Crusade of South Carolina, Charleston, South Carolina, March 18, 1954. Generally the contents of this pamphlet seeks to identify many members of the negro race, including the NAACP, as victims of or affiliated with the Communist Party.

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6. Reprint of article from Richmond Times Dispatch, August 22, 1955, captioned "A Negro Deplores the Segregation Decision" by ZORA NEALE HURSTON, a noted negro author. Comments attributed to the author, a negro, reflects resentment toward the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the public School segregation issue.

7. A pamphlet entitled SEGREGATION God's Plan and God's Purpose by HENRY W. FANCHER, Sr., Winter, Alabama, a retired minister. The author of this pamphlet endeavors to prove from a review of history and quotations from the Bible that God planned segregation from the beginning and manifested execution of the plan in placing Ham "the black son of Noah" in Africa surrounded by natural barriers to keep him and his descendants separated from other races.

8. Reprint of speech of Hon. JAMES O. EASTLAND of Mississippi in the Senate of the United States on May 26, 1955, captioned "The Supreme Court's 'Modern Scientific Authorities' in the Segregation Cases". Senator EASTLAND's speech strongly questions the wisdom and logic of the Supreme Court's Decision which admittedly relied to some extent upon "modern scientific authorities" on racial problems. Senator EASTLAND identifies several of the so called "modern scientific authorities" as individuals with long records of Communist front affiliations and another of the "authorities" is described as Dr. GUNNAR MYRDAL, University of Stockholm, Stockholm, Sweden, described by Senator EASTLAND as "a socialist who served the Communist cause" and has expressed contempt for the Constitution of the United States in the following language "impracticable and unsuited to modern conditions" and its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people".

9. A 11 page pamphlet entitled "A Plan for Virginia" by DSSIL. This booklet sets forth a 9 point plan recommended to the Governor and the Legislature (General Assembly), Commonwealth of Virginia, in the matter of procedures which might form the basis of retaining segregation in the public schools in Virginia. Substance of this has previously been reported. The back cover of this pamphlet is printed in the form of an application for membership in DSSIL and is quoted in its entirety as follows:

APPLICATION FORM

Defenders of State Sovereignty
and Individual Liberties

City/County Chapter

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I hereby apply for membership in the DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES. I am a white, law abiding citizen of the United States of America, and a resident of

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the City/County of _____
Virginia. I am not a member of any organization
detrimental to the peace and welfare of the
U. S. A., nor do I ever intend belonging to any
such organization.

I believe the segregation of the races is a right
of the state government; in the sovereignty of the
several states and in the freedom of the individual
from government controls.

I enclose \$10.00 for membership in the DEFEND-
ERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL
LIBERTIES for one year.

Witness my hand this _____ day of _____, 195__

Name: _____

Address: _____

SPONSORED BY: _____
Signature of member

MISCELLANEOUS

On September 21, 1955, J. EDWARD LAWLER, Vice-President,
Union Life Insurance Company, 11 N. 6th Street, Richmond,
and former Special Agent of the FBI, who has a wide acquaintance
among civic and religious groups in the State of Virginia,
advised he had knowledge of the existence of DSSIL but had no
information which would indicate that this group was engaged
in any illegal activities. He said from what he had heard
of the group it appeared to him that DSSIL was purely and
simply a group of respectable high-type people in Virginia
who formed this organization with a view to either
circumventing the Supreme Court's decision in the public
schools segregation issue or achieving a reversal of the
Supreme Court's decision in this matter through legal
means. He advised that he was personally acquainted with
COLLINS DENNY, JR., WILLIAM B. COCKE, JR, and E. FLOYD YATES,
officials of the DSSIL, and knew other members of the Board of

members - board of directors of DeFenders
RH 105-405 *of State Sovereignty* ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ *u2/ Liberties*

Directors of this group, namely, VALENTINE SOUTHAIR, Amelia, Virginia, and CHARLES T. MOSES, Appomattox, Virginia, by reputation as being fine, respectable, law-abiding people. *✓*

On September 21, 1955, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Richmond, and a former Special Agent of the FBI, who has a wide acquaintance throughout the State of Virginia, advised he knew of the existence of the DSSIL from Newspapers and general conversations he has heard and nothing had come to his attention indicating that this group was engaged in any illegal activity or would tolerate any illegal activity. He said he knew some of the officials of the organization, specifically COLLINS DENNY, JR. and E. FLOYD YATTS and these persons had the reputation of being the highest type people.

On August 30, 1955, W. J. HEDRICK, Chief of Police, Henrico County, advised that he had learned of the formation and activities of DSSIL from reading Newspapers but had received no information indicating this organization was engaged in any illegal activity.

ENCLOSURES: TO BUREAU

One copy each of the following:
Reprint from "Congressional Record" of speech by Congressman ABBITT of Virginia, 6/9/55.
Reprint from July, 1955, issue of "Virginia Record" entitled "STAND UP AND BE COUNTED".
Reprint of letter dated 5/21/54 from HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK and reply dated 6/3/54 from CHARLES J. WILLIAMS.
~~Pamphlet entitled "Southern View of Segregation".~~
~~Pamphlet captioned "Negroes Menaced by Red Plot".~~
~~Reprint from Richmond Times Dispatch captioned "A Negro Deplores the Segregation Decision".~~
Pamphlet entitled "SEGREGATION God's Plan and God's Purpose".
Reprint of speech by Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND in Senate of U. S. 5/26/55 captioned "THE SUPREME COURT 'MODERN SCIENTIFIC AUTHORITIES' IN THE SEGREGATION CASES".
Pamphlet entitled "A Plan for Virginia".

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

Two extra copies of this report are indicated for Richmond due to the number of leads in this Division.

Pretext telephone call made by Reporting Agent to the Office of COLLINS DENNY, JR., Richmond, Virginia, as related in the details of this report was made without disclosing identity of caller.

Pretext visit to headquarters of DSSIL, 1210 Traveler's Building, Richmond, Virginia, by Reporting Agent on September 13, 1955, as related in the details of this report, was handled as follows: Agent entered office, stated he was a resident of Richmond interested in obtaining some of the literature distributed by DSSIL for reading and consideration. WILLIAM E. MAXEY, Jr. introduced himself and Reporting Agent introduced himself as BOB SMITH.

All sources contacted in connection with this matter are considered reliable and discreet individuals.

INFORMANTS

Richmond Informant [] listed in the details of this report, is [] Main Post Office, Richmond, Virginia, whose identity is being protected in view of his official position.

Consideration has been given to the complete elimination of T symbols in this report and they have been used only when deemed essential.

LEADS

THE PURPOSE OF THIS INVESTIGATION IS TO PROVIDE THE DEPARTMENT WITH INFORMATION CONCERNING THE OFFICIALS AND ACTIVITIES OF DSSIL FOR CONSIDERATION IN CONNECTION WITH THE DESIGNATION OF ORGANIZATIONS UNDER EXECUTIVE ORDER 10450 WHICH "HAVE ADOPTED A POLICY OF ADVOCATING OR APPROVING THE COMMISSION OF ACTS OF FORCE AND VIOLENCE TO DENY OTHERS THEIR RIGHTS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES".

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WAC
9-13-55



A Plan for Virginia

Presented to

The People of The Commonwealth

by

The Defenders of State Sovereignty
and Individual Liberties

THIS CONTAINER
DECLASSIFIED
DATE 1/22/93 BY: DHR/DKM

105-30132

Telephone 2-8924
1210 Travelers Building
Richmond, Virginia

Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties

*A non-profit organization of Virginians dedicated
to the preservation of the Sovereignty of the States
and our historic freedoms.*

OFFICERS

	President	
Robert B. Crawford		Farmville, Va.
	Vice President	
C. D. Jones		La Crosse, Va.
	Secretary	
William B. Cocke, Jr.		Sussex, Va.
	Treasurer	
E. Floyd Yates		Powhatan, Va.
	Executive Director	
William E. Maxey, Jr.		Richmond, Va.
	1210 Travelers Bldg.	
	Counsel	
Collins Denny, Jr.		Richmond, Va.
	1300 Travelers Bldg.	

The Defenders invite your cooperation.

*Additional copies may be obtained from the
Executive Director. The cost is 10¢ per copy. How-
ever, they will be forthcoming to anyone desiring
to distribute them, with or without payment.*

A Plan For Virginia

The Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties has, since its organization last fall, been giving itself to a study of the questions posed for Virginia by the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954. It was not surprised by the implementing decision handed down on May 31, 1955. It did not anticipate that a court, composed of such judges as now constitute The Supreme Court of the United States, would in any respect weaken in its determination to force upon the people of Virginia and the South the unsupported views of the socialistic and radical sociologists whose opinions it has accepted as constitutional doctrine.

The Defenders are amazed that there be those in our midst who would lull our people into a false sense of security by assuring them that under these decisions we have all the time we want in which to chart our course. The court has not given that time. It requires that in "good faith" we "make a prompt and reasonable start" toward mixing the races in our schools. If we make that start and thus begin the process of mongrelization, there is then the possibility that we will be given additional time to complete the process, but only in the event we do so "at the earliest practicable date." If this were not clear enough to satisfy these false prophets that time, in the opinion of the court, is of the essence in this matter, the court emphasizes that fact by saying that schools must be mixed "with all deliberate speed."

There be those who after a year of talk still advocate that nothing now be done, but that we take our time in an endeavor to "hammer out" some plan of procedure unknown to them and to us. We call upon such persons, and particularly any such who have been honored by election to the General Assembly, to meet their responsibility and to state in frankness and candor to the people of Virginia what they have to offer.

Unless something be done, and unless something be done now, integration will begin in

Virginia, and once begun, it, like every other vile pestilence, will spread to the point where it has covered the whole body politic. Whether it come in our day, our children will see the death of our Anglo-Saxon civilization.

The Commonwealth of Virginia has a right now to expect of every one of her sons and daughters who may have any proposal to make by which we can preserve our way of life, that he speak. Procrastination is not only the thief of time, in this instance, procrastination will be the thief of our civilization.

The Defenders have certain broad proposals to make to the people of Virginia. They do not make them on the spur of the moment. They make them after long study and after consultation with very many persons both within and without the State of Virginia.

1. We recommend to His Excellency the Governor that he immediately call a special session of the General Assembly. That session should begin the process of amending our state constitution and it should adopt certain needed legislation. That session should be held not later than the middle of July. If we are to amend our constitution through the plan that permits the people of Virginia to vote on the amendments (and this matter is too important to deal with otherwise), the initial step should be taken by the General Assembly not later than the first of August of this year. Otherwise, notice of the proposed amendments cannot be published in sufficient time to permit the General Assembly at its regular 1956 session to deal with the matter and to permit the people to vote next year. Unless this initial action is taken by the first of August, we cannot amend the constitution by the procedure which gives the people a right to pass on the proposals until 1958. That would mean a delay of three school sessions. This matter does not permit of such delay. If other considerations did not require immediate action, the situation in Prince Edward County demands it. The people of that county will next year educate their children without help from the state or the locality. They will in addition

[4]

pay their full state taxes. Tax money paid by them will go to help support the public schools in other localities. It is not right that a people who have so courageously fought the battle for the whole state should thus be penalized and oppressed by the Commonwealth of Virginia.

2. We call upon the General Assembly to initiate procedures to amend Section 129 of the Constitution so as expressly to give to the General Assembly the power to adopt such laws in relation to schools as the welfare of this people requires. That section and the provision for segregated schools are each a part of Chapter IX of our Constitution. We are aware that there are those who are of the opinion that the invalidation of the segregated school provision by the Supreme Court of the United States has wiped out of our state constitution the whole of Chapter IX. Indeed, as we read the decision of the Circuit Court of Hanover County rendered last week in the Hanover School Board case, that is the view of the great constitutional student who sits on that Bench before which Patrick Henry was accustomed to appear. There are others who take a different position. This question is too important to leave to any uncertainty, and as matters now stand, certainty cannot, without such amendment, be attained until the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia has ruled on the question.

3. We call upon the General Assembly to initiate procedures to amend Sections 134 and 141 of Chapter IX of the Constitution so as to remove any doubt that, in case of necessity, state and local monies may be used to pay the tuition and other school expenses in private schools, of children of localities in which it becomes necessary, as in Prince Edward, to close the public schools. We do not believe there is a self-respecting man in the State of Virginia who would advocate that people so situated should be relegated to educate their children as best they can, and at the same time be compelled to pay taxes to assist in the education of children of other areas.

4. We call upon the General Assembly to

[5]

take out of our law all mention of compulsory education. We have yet to hear one single man advocate that compulsory education be retained in Virginia, and that any man be prosecuted and convicted who may elect to hold his child out of school rather than subject him to the degrading influences of an integrated school. If there be such a man in Virginia, particularly if there be such a man in public life, honesty and candor compel him so to state, and especially if there be one who is now candidate for the General Assembly, he will, if he be honest, so state to the people whose support he seeks.

5. We call upon the General Assembly to enact such laws as may be needed to prevent the expenditure of \$1.00 of public monies, state or local, in the support and maintenance of any racially mixed public school. The Supreme Court of the United States has the power perchance to prevent us spending our money as we see fit, but the Supreme Court of the United States can scarcely be so oblivious to the constitution which governs it as to attempt to compel a state to levy taxes and to spend tax money for a purpose for which that state is not willing to tax its people or to make any appropriation. The people of this Commonwealth are unalterably opposed to integration. That being our position, then as self-respecting men and women, our course is determined. It demands, in self-respect that we refuse to give any support to any integrated public school. Integration, like cancer, cannot be contained and limited to one isolated spot. If it exists, it spreads until it kills the whole.

6. We call upon the General Assembly to adopt such laws as may be required to make public monies available to meet the private school expenses of children of those localities in which the closing of public schools may be compelled. Again, we cite the present situation in Prince Edward County, a situation that may shortly exist in other localities. We point to the rank injustice of subjecting those people to the necessity of educating their children out of private funds, and at the same time compelling

them to pay taxes to help the more fortunate areas of the state meet their public school expenses.

7. We pledge to His Excellency the Governor, to the General Assembly and to the people of Virginia our support of this program, or, if someone can advance a better, which will also preserve education in Virginia and which will prevent the mixing of the races, we will give our support to it.

8. We call upon all those who are candidates for the General Assembly—Democrats, Republicans and Independents—to state openly, frankly and fearlessly what, if anything, they have to propose, and whether they can be relied upon to give their full support to a program that will prevent integration in Virginia public schools. There may be a time when a candidate is justified in indulging in political trimming in order to obtain a seat in the General Assembly. Upon that we express no opinion. But we do assert, that in this emergency, no honest person has the right to seek that high office without frankly telling those whom he hopes to represent what may be his position. To act otherwise will be the height of personal, political and moral cowardice.

9. Too long have many of those who represent us in the halls of Congress and in the General Assembly remained silent. Some have spoken out frankly and have told the people of Virginia that in which they believe. We call upon those who have been honored by the people of Virginia and its localities with public office, elective or appointive, from United States Senators down, now to give their advice to the people of Virginia in a forthright manner and to meet the responsibilities of the leadership to which they have been chosen by assisting to guide us along a road that will preserve our race.

We do not consider that these proposals mean death to public schools. We think that the only hope of public schools lies in their adoption. Those who talk of preserving our public school system know not of what they speak. Our pub-

lic school system—that system which we have known for many years in Virginia, which has been so beneficial to white persons and which rescued the negro out of illiteracy—cannot be preserved. The United States Supreme Court has killed it for years to come, and it will remain dead until such time as the American people may by constitutional processes correct the error of that Court, or the personnel of the Court may be changed to include those who recognize that the judicial power may not rightfully be used to amend the Constitution to make it conform to that which the Court may think it should be.

No system of public schools not approved of by the people can exist. Virginians want nothing of an integrated public school system. Our white citizens who have paid the greater part of the taxes which have educated both white and negro children will not submit to the enormous cost of maintaining schools to which they are not willing to subject their children.

Only one of two public school systems can now exist. Each is novel and new to Virginia. The one is an integrated public school system. That system the people of Virginia will not support. The other is a segregated public school system—segregated not as a matter of law and by state compulsion, but segregated by the good sense of our people, white and black.

If it be said that the N.A.A.C.P. will not consent to the maintenance of the latter, but will excite some ill-advised negroes to apply for admission to the white schools, and thereby cause the school to be closed, or that one of that pitiful little group of white persons who fraternize with the N.A.A.C.P. will sacrifice his child by seeking his admission to the negro school and thereby cause the school to lose, we admit that possibility. Virginians do not choose, however, to be ruled by such elements. If that happens those schools will close. They will regret that the negroes for whom they have done much will no longer receive their help, but that will be at the wish of their leaders. We will care for our own and they will care as best they can

for theirs, each assisted by the same help from public funds to the extent that help is sought and within the limits of available funds. We do not believe many schools will close before our negro citizens, fine as most of them are, will see to it that their people throw off the leadership of these radicals who have done so much to destroy good race relations, and together we can put our educational system on a firm and lasting basis. If our belief in that respect be not sustained we will put other schools for our children on a firm and lasting basis and let the negroes do with theirs as they will.

We are not unmindful of the ultimatum thrown down to the people of Virginia at a radio forum held in Richmond on May 17, 1955, by one of the chief Virginia counsel of the N.A.A.C.P., who in an unguided moment cried out: "Like it or not, your schools will be integrated." Virginians are not ready to accept that dictation.

We have heard of no specific proposal that would look to integration in Virginia. We hope we hear of none. Should one be forthcoming which would propose that a start be made on the road to integration without it having first received approval of all governing bodies of the locality affected, both state and local, and also approval by the people at the ballot box, we would know of no way to characterize it save by the use of such a word as "dastardly." We do not believe our people, or any segment of them, is ready to condemn their children to a complete socialization of the races. We do most solemnly assert that the man who would advocate that be permitted without first giving the people an opportunity in solemn vote to express their views is entitled to no respect and to no support from the people of Virginia.

We realize that there are those timid souls among us who will say that we advocate an "extreme" program. We have no fear of adjectives. We are confronted by an "extreme" emergency. We have been served with a decision so "extreme" that it has abandoned all rules of constitutional interpretation; it has

denied the validity of the views held for 175 years by the American people; it has accepted as our fundamental law not the constitution adopted by this people, but the views of foreign and radical sociologists which have nothing to support them other than the opinions of the authors—men who would mix the races in all features of life. To attempt to compromise between the segregated school and the integrated school, is not to compromise. It is to accept the integrated school. That we are not willing to do.

We call upon all the good people of the State of Virginia who would protect their children and their children's children from the deteriorating and deadly effects of integration to bestir themselves, to join with us, and to help in this our day to protect that pure way of life which our fathers preserved for us, and preserved it when they were in a situation nowhere nearly so strong as we, and when they were threatened with forces equally as destructive as those which now seek to encompass us.

June 8, 1955

If you believe in this plan and these principles, fill out the application and mail to the Executive Director. The dues of a member are \$10.00 per annum. One who is unable to pay that amount may become a subscribing member upon payment of any sum he elects.

If in your location there is a Chapter of the Defenders, your application will be forwarded to officers of that Chapter. If there be no Chapter in your location, try to become the nucleus around which a Chapter forms. We will be in touch with you.

Contributions beyond membership dues will be most welcome.

Application Form

**Defenders of State Sovereignty
and Individual Liberties**

City/County Chapter

I hereby apply for membership in the DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES. I am a white, law abiding citizen of the United States of America, and a resident of the City/County of _____,

Virginia. I am not a member of any organization detrimental to the peace and welfare of the U. S. A., nor do I ever intend belonging to any such organization.

I believe the segregation of the races is a right of the state government; in the sovereignty of the several states and in the freedom of the individual from government controls.

I enclose \$10.00 for membership in the DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES for one year.

Witness my hand this ____ day of _____, 195__

Name: _____

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Signature of member

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SEGREGATION

God's Plan and God's Purpose

—By—

HENRY W. FANCHER, Sr.

*What has God, Nature, and
Christ said or done about it?*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

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105-32909-11

Mr. Henry Ford, Sr. is reported to have said a short while before his death that, "If the Anglo-Saxon race is ever preserved, it will be preserved in the South." But this will not be done unless white people fight for it. These articles are published with the hope that they will stimulate our desires, ambitions, and efforts to keep our blood line pure.

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by
HENRY W. FANCHER, SR.
Minter, Alabama

INTRODUCTION BY A LAYMAN

DR. H. W. FANCHER

Minter, Alabama

1. Took his A.B. degree at Howard College, Birmingham, Alabama, 1899.
2. Became Master of Theology at Louisville Seminary in 1902.
3. Post graduate work in Harvard, Boston, Mass., 1904-'05.
4. Was pastor at Demopolis, Alabama; Rome, Georgia; Mobile, Alabama; Winchester, Tennessee; Clanton, Alabama; and Russellville, Alabama.
5. Retired from the active ministry in 1936.
6. Is author of "Fellowship With God" and "Ten Reasons For Tithing."
7. Borrowed money to buy land and cattle.
8. Surprised himself, his family and his friends by producing a sizeable estate.
9. Dr. Fancher has lived with the negro race all his life. He has always been their friend and they have been his friends. He has preached in their churches and visited in their hospitals and homes.

Dr. Fancher says that the decision to write a spiritual and scriptural analysis of segregation and integration came to him while he was reading Acts 17:26 and 27.

Paul was visiting the Athenians. The Athenians were the scholars of that day. They had erected monuments to the many gods whom they worshipped. Among these there was one that they called the "Unknown God." That gave Paul his text. He preached about the one real God. In effect he said, "You don't know him but I do."

The 26th verse (in plain language) reads as follows

"And out of one he hath made the several nations that dwell on the face of the earth and he hath determined their time and seasons and the bounds of their habitations."

In the 26th verse (quoted in plain language) there are 4 facts, namely:

1. The origin and unity of the races.
2. The number of races produced or made.
3. The destiny of the rise and fall of nations.
4. The territories in which they should live.

The 27th verse (in plain language) reads as follows:

"They that might seek after him, if perchance they might feel after him and find him." Paul here is giving the one reason why God performed the four acts in Verse 26. His sole aim was their spiritual salvation.

To Dr. Fancher, it seemed as if his own eyes had been opened, so he wrote the article on "Segregation Right or Wrong—Which?" He was prompted to write because he believes that the forces of communism and the devil are the source of the mighty powers that are against segregation. He believes that those Christian people who accept the abolition of segregation are acting ignorantly and blindly.

Dr. Fancher believes segregation is God's business.

God is not like the politicians. When He decided to send the flood, he did not ask the people if they would like it. He sent it. When God sent Japheth west and north by land and by sea to the Isles of the Seas, Europe, Asia and America, — he did not ask him if he wanted to go. He sent him. He gave to Ham, the black son of Noah, all of the countries south of Gaza, the Dead Sea and the Red Sea, including Africa and Egypt. Shem had the eastern and central divisions of the earth. God had the absolute right to divide this earth because it is His. The people of the earth were created and made by Him. He had absolute authority to divide them and to send them to the territories, where he wanted them to live. There is not anything in the Bible that teaches or even suggests the integration of races.

All efforts to defeat God's law of segregation cannot be expected to succeed. If it should succeed it would be to the detriment of all the races, which were made by God Himself. This is what the Apostle Paul said, — not the Supreme Court. The authority for what the Apostle Paul said in Acts 17:26th and 27th verses must stand or fall on that basis. In this matter of segregation we are dealing with the Supreme Ruler of the universe and not the Supreme Court of the United States. No man or group of men can annul the law of God or defeat His will.

Dr. Fancher closes his book as he began. The opening sentence is, "If Segregation is Wrong, God Almighty Stands Condemned." Again, Dr. Fancher points out that it was Thomas Jefferson and not the Supreme Court that conforms to the Scripture. He said, nature, habit, and opinion has drawn indelible lines of distinction between the two races, and that they cannot live in the same government.

J. BRUCE HENDERSON
Millers Ferry, Alabama

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God and Segregation

If segregation is wrong, GOD Almighty stands condemned.

Anyone who possesses a passing knowledge of the old Testament knows that the most stringent segregation laws ever enacted and enforced were those used by GOD in the development of his chosen people, Israel. The wisdom of this method of development is forcibly demonstrated in the contributions which this people made to humanity. The Jews wrote our BIBLE, they have set the highest standard of morality of any race on earth, they gave us the most perfect woman, the Mother of JESUS, and from their loins came the one and only CHRIST, the son of man and the son of GOD. Through the enforcement of these austere laws of separation, GOD was qualifying his people spiritually, morally, mentally, and physically to become the channel through which HE might transmit spiritual light and life to all men.

God has sought through the centuries to keep races separated according to HIS own purposes. This is clearly exhibited at the building of the tower of Babel. It is quite evident that the people came together as one man to form a federation and to make for themselves a great name. It is quite clear that Nimrod was to be their dictator and Ninevah was to be the seat of their government. God was displeased with the plans and purposes of this people. At that time the whole earth was of one language and of one speech. As evidence of GOD's disapproval, HE came down and confounded their language that they might not understand one another's speech. "So The Lord scattered them abroad from thence, upon the face of all the earth; and they left off building the city." Gen. 11:8.

Two verses of Scripture give us a concise and comprehensive expression of GOD's plan and purpose for the segregation of the races on the earth. These verses are — Acts 17:26 and 27, and read as follows:

"And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; That they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him."

FIRST—The origin of the Races—"of one". The BIBLE everywhere is consistent in its contention that humanity on the earth is due to the creative act of GOD and as it is recorded in the book of Genesis.

SECOND—The development of the Races—"every nation of men to dwell on all the face of the earth." Why do we have so many different races on the earth today and all coming from a common stock? Paul does not say where, how or when, but he does state unequivocally that GOD is the founder of all the peoples on the earth. GOD worked from "one" to "every nation of men". Those who oppose segregation want to work from "every nation of earth" to "one" race. The chief aim of the opponents of

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separation in America is integration—the intermarriage of whites and blacks. (Read "What the American Negro Wants", U. S. News and World Report, September 5, 1952). If GOD had wanted only one race to inhabit HIS earth, all HE had to do was to retain the "status quo." For some divine reason HE proposed to populate HIS earth with several nations and so HE made "many" from "one."

THIRD—The Rise and Fall of Nations—"having determined appointed seasons." "There is a destiny that shapes our ends, rough hew them as we may." Make no mistake about it, GOD reigns on the earth as well as in the sky, HE rules in the affairs of men. The rise and fall of nations are to be explained solely on the ground of their obedience or disobedience to the laws of GOD.

FOURTH—The Habitations of the races—"and the bounds of their habitation." GOD not only determined the appointed seasons of the races, but HE also determined the bounds of their habitation. The Greek word for "bounds" shows how determined GOD was that HIS plan for keeping the races separated should not be interfered with or defeated. This word is made up of two small Greek words: "horos" (mountain) and "tithamy" (to set up). "Bounds" literally means "mountain-setups." The lines separating one place of habitation from another were selected where there would be natural barriers such as mountains, seas, lakes or rivers.

Dr. H. B. Hackett expresses this fact in these words—"The various lands which the different families of mankind occupied, with all the advantages connected with their position, GOD had assigned to them." See also Dr. R. J. Knowling on these verses.

FIFTH—GOD'S high aim in the separation of the races, "that they should seek GOD, if haply they might feel after HIM and find HIM." The ultimate goal of GOD in all HIS dealings with men is their spiritual salvation. The one objective of GOD in the enactment of HIS laws of segregation was that HE might bring men to HIM that they might be saved. The records of history prove the wisdom of GOD'S plans for mankind. No one becomes a child of GOD in the physical birth, but blood will out, and the offspring of wellbred parents are more susceptible to the teachings of CHRIST and the influence of the HOLY SPIRIT.

We would do well to emulate the example of Abraham who made his chief servant swear that he would not choose a wife for his son Isaac from the Canaanites, but rather from his own people. Gen. 25:1-67. Abolition of segregation will ultimately populate America with a mongrel race, one with a stronger proneness toward lasciviousness and infidelity. These verses of Scripture are meaningless if they do not teach that GOD advocated and practiced segregation, and that HIS one aim in so doing was to give mankind a heavenly bent, to cause men to seek HIM, if haply they might feel after HIM and find HIM.

NOTE (The reader is not to infer from what I said about Jesus being the offspring of the Jewish

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race, that I therefore believe HE inherited the sinful nature of Mary. The Bible everywhere consistently maintains the sinlessness of the Son of God. The most wonderful and significant miracle ever wrought by God was the birth of the God-Man. What regeneration is to sinful man, the incarnation was to Jesus Christ.)

SEGREGATION IN CREATION

The principle of segregation is embedded in all created things. This is apparent in all vegetation. All grasses, herbs, and trees were qualified and ordered by the CREATOR to propagate and produce—after their kind.

"And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding FRUIT AFTER HIS KIND, whose seed is in itself, upon the earth and it was so. And the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding SEED AFTER HIS KIND, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed was in itself, after his kind; and God saw that it was good." Gen. 1:11-12.

What if GOD had not made every grass, herb, and tree so they would propagate and produce after their kind? There would be discomfort among all creatures feeding upon their products, and uncertainty and confusion among all peoples because they could not provide food for their own needs, or for the fowls and animals upon which they subsist or upon which they depend for labor. When you sow oats and reap oats, or plant a peach tree and gather peaches, or plant a vine and pull grapes, give credit and thanks to GOD. Creation germinates, propagates and produces according to divine laws. If it had not been for the disobedience and interference of man, saturated and dominated by sin—, the material, animal, and human world would be as it was in the beginning, perfect. No wonder GOD looked upon it with pride and joy, and pronounced it very good.

"And GOD saw everything that HE had made, and behold it was very good. And the evening and the morning, were the sixth day." Gen. 1:31.

All of the lower animals have the inclination to segregation embedded in the elements of their bodies, and when left to themselves associate and cohabit with their kind. "And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven. And God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which THE WATERS BROUGHT FORTH ABUNDANTLY, AFTER THEIR KIND, and every WINGED FOWL AFTER HIS KIND, and God saw that it was good. And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth. And the evening and the morning were the fifth day. And God said, Let the earth bring forth the LIVING CREATURE AFTER HIS KIND, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth AFTER HIS KIND: and it was so. And God made the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and everything that creepeth upon the earth after his kind: and God saw that it was good." Gen. 1:20-25.

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The law of separation permeates and saturates the very fiber of everyone of GOD'S creatures and this law is strictly adhered to and practiced by them, when they are allowed to live their own lives undisturbed and unmolested by the only sinful creature in the world, fallen man. Notice how frequently the expressions "after their kind" or "after its kind" is used in the account of creation. Not one thing is left out. If these verses of Scripture, which I have quoted, do not exhibit the operation of segregation, which had its origin in the mind and heart of GOD, then they teach nothing.

I have seen hundreds of coveys of quail, and many flocks of doves, but never feeding or flying together. I have never known of a red bird mating with a blue bird. Sheep do not congregate with goats. GOD evidently abhors mixed breeds in HIS sky, in HIS waters, and on HIS land. I can understand why people of mixed breeding are so opposed to segregation. They should have our profound sympathy, for they have no distinct color, and they belong to no certain race. Like GOD they despise their origin. Mankind would do well to study and learn from the habits and practices of the lesser creatures of the all-wise CREATOR, that blindly and unerringly follow HIS laws hidden in their bodies. When sin entered into the heart and life of man, he became an entirely different creature. He became rebellious toward GOD and disobedient to all of HIS divine laws. In fact, disobedience was involved in the sinful act. By one man's disobedience, sin fell on all. Sin in its essence is disobedience and lawlessness. So to develop a race that would propagate according to HIS purpose and plans, GOD had to issue new laws and orders.

The object of these laws was not to save men spiritually, but to bring them to the highest point possible physically, mentally, and morally. The Old Testament clearly reveals that GOD had a purpose at heart and an object in mind, when HE selected Seth not Cain; Jacob, not Esau; David, in preference to either of his brothers. He was growing a blood line that would ripen into the son of man, JESUS CHRIST.

Read the family trees of JESUS recorded in the first chapter of Matthew and in the fourth chapter of Luke. Both of them give double emphasis to the fact that GOD is interested in breeding good men physically. When HIS work culminated HE had a man who could command the definite article. JESUS is THE son of man, not a son of man. HE is THE son of GOD, not a son of GOD.

When and if the Supreme Court of the United States outlaws segregation, family trees will no longer be popular. Don't allow yourself to be deceived, for the abolition of segregation means the intermarriage of whites and blacks. The seed of the downfall of America will be sown when it is populated with mongrel people.

LAW OF SEGREGATION

For the convenience of the reader I am copying the entire seventh chapter of Deuteronomy which

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contains GOD'S segregation law for the Jews. Notice JEHOVAH'S intense love for HIS people, the rich and manifold blessings HE promised them, if they kept this law, and the swift destruction HE would send upon them, if they disobeyed it.

Read the story of how Solomon lost the kingdom during the reign of his son because he disregarded this law of separation in the eleventh chapter of First Kings. The people of Israel suffered great mental anguish and spiritual agony when they disobeyed this law. For this account read the ninth chapter of Ezra.

Seventh Chapter of Deuteronomy

When the LORD thy God shall bring thee into the land whither thou goest to possess it, and hath cast out many nations before thee, the Hittites, and the Girgashites, and the Amorrites, and the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations greater and mightier than thou; 2) And when the LORD thy God shall deliver them before thee; thou shalt smite them, and utterly destroy them; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor shew mercy unto them: 3) Neither shalt thou make marriages with them; thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son. 4) For they will turn away thy son from following me, that they may serve other gods; so will the anger of the LORD be kindled against you, and destroy thee suddenly. 5) But thus shall ye deal with them; ye shall destroy their altars, and break down their images, and cut down their groves, and burn their graven images with fire. 6) For thou art an holy people unto the LORD thy God: the LORD thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto himself, above all people that are upon the face of the earth. 7) The LORD did not set his love upon you, nor choose you, because ye were more in number than any people; for ye were the fewest of all people: 8) But because the LORD loved you, and because he would keep the oath which he had sworn unto your fathers, hath the LORD brought you out with a mighty hand, and redeemed you out of the house of bondmen, from the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt. 9) Know therefore that the LORD thy God, he is God, the faithful God, which keepeth the covenant and mercy with them that love him and keep his commandments to a thousand generations; 10) And repayeth them that hate him to their face, to destroy them: he will not be slack to him that hateth him, he will repay him to his face. 11) Thou shalt therefore keep the commandments, and the statutes, and the judgments, which I commanded thee this day to do them.

12) Wherefore it shall come to pass, if ye hearken to these judgments, and keep, and do them, that the LORD thy God shall keep unto thee the covenant and the mercy which he swore unto thy fathers: 13) And he will love thee, and bless thee, and multiply thee: he will also bless the fruit of thy womb, and the fruit of thy land, thy corn, and thy wine, and thine oil, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep, in the land which he swore

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unto thy fathers to give thee. 14) Thou shalt be blessed above all people; there shall not be male or female barren among you, or among your cattle. 15) And the LORD will take away from thee all sickness, and will put none of the evil diseases of Egypt, which thou knowest, upon thee; but will lay them upon all them that hate thee. 16) And thou shalt consume all the people which the LORD thy God shall deliver thee; thine eye shall have no pity upon them: neither shalt thou serve their gods; for that will be a snare unto thee. 17) If thou shalt say in thine heart. These nations are more than I; how can I dispossess them? 18) Thou shalt not be afraid of them: but shall well remember what the LORD thy God did unto Pharaoh, and unto all Egypt; 19) The great temptations which thine eyes saw, and the signs, and the wonders, and the mighty hand, and the stretched out arm, whereby the LORD thy God brought thee out: so shall the LORD thy God do unto all the people of whom thou art afraid. 20) Moreover the LORD thy God will send the hornet among them, until they that are left, and hide themselves from thee, be destroyed. 21) Thou shalt not be affrighted at them: for the LORD thy God is among you, a mighty God and terrible. 22) And the LORD thy God will put out those nations before thee by little and little; thou mayest not consume them at once, lest the best of the field increase upon thee. 23) But the LORD thy God shall deliver them unto thee, and shall destroy them with a mighty destruction, until they be destroyed. 24) And he shall deliver their kings into thine hand, and thou shalt destroy their name from under heaven: there shall no man be able to stand before thee, until thou have destroyed them. 25) The graven images of their gods shall ye burn with fire; thou shalt not desire the silver or gold that is on them; nor take it unto thee, lest thou be snared therein: for it is an abomination to the LORD thy God. 26) Neither shalt thou bring an abomination into thine house, lest thou be a cursed thing like it: but thou shalt utterly detest it, and thou shalt utterly abhor it; for it is a cursed thing.

CHRIST AND SEGREGATION

The last word on segregation so far as Christians are concerned is the word of CHRIST. The main question for us to consider is what HE said, or did not say, on this subject. We must also study HIS conduct in reference to HIS relationship toward other races.

We tried to point out in our first article that the Jewish race is the definite product of the most rigid segregation laws that are known to history either sacred or profane. Did CHRIST advocate the annulment of these regulations? I have previously pointed out that JESUS, the son of man, is the high achievement of the ALMIGHTY in growing a special people for HIMSELF. Did JESUS disapprove of the method of HIS FATHER in building up the race to which HE belongs and of which HE is the chief offspring? Did HE repudiate HIS breeding or speak lightly of HIS family tree? Did HE by word of

mouth or by any act of conduct reflect upon HIS Jewish blood? Why did HE not order that no record be made of HIS lineage, if HE believed that segregation should be done away with and that the nations which HIS FATHER made to dwell on HIS earth should intermarry? Am I disobedient to the teaching of CHRIST when I contend that white people should marry white people, and that negroes should marry negroes? Was I wrong in teaching my children to select the best of my race as their associates, and life companions? Was Abraham wrong when he sent his chief servant to his own people to find a wife for his son, Isaac? Am I inconsistent to my Christian confession when I adhere to those customs and practices that will safeguard my wishes and beliefs that my descendants should marry members of their own nationality? Am I casting reflection on other races because I preach segregation?

Men know a great deal about breeding fine horses and good cattle. They believe in breeding for the best in all kinds of fowls and animals. They have learned the wisdom and necessity of sticking to strict rules of selection. They have good reasons for eliminating certain members and retaining others. I do not find one utterance of JESUS in which HE disapproved of HIS FATHER'S way of building up or growing HIS race, or in which HE showed or exhibited disrespect for HIS own pedigree. I am sure that no people can protect, keep pure, or grow to the highest point possible their blood line, if they disregard the laws of separation. It is the duty of fathers and mothers to try to select the best associates for their children and those they would like to have them marry. Children cannot make the best and wisest choice of their life companion without the advice and help of their parents. What do small children know about selecting their associates and companions? One of the saddest articles that I have ever read was written by a father, but who declined to sign his name. The title of this pathetic story was "Our Daughter Married a Negro." The couple graduated from the same college and doubtless were thrown together for many years in the same school. There may be countless like expressions of grief if the ordinances establishing segregation are erased from our law books.

The opponents of segregation seem to base their argument upon the tenet that all men are born equal. I know our declaration of independence affirms that all men are created equal, but did our forefathers mean what the enemies of separation would have us believe they meant? Did the author mean that all men and races are equal from every point of view from which you may analyze them? Are all equal physically, mentally, socially, and spiritually? I do not believe we have any ground for so construing this statement.

But regardless of what this great statesman meant to say, I make claim that the Bible nowhere affirms and that CHRIST nowhere teaches that men are born equal in the literal meaning of those terms. GOD'S method of establishing a fine people on the earth was based on the hypothesis of the in-

equality of men. GOD's choice of Seth and not Cain grew out of the fact that HE saw and knew that Seth was a better, and would be a greater man than Cain. The records of history demonstrate that the CREATOR knows man, knows how to evaluate him, and that HIS selection was the result of keen insight and sound judgment. Study every case where GOD made choice between men in the breeding of HIS chosen people and you will see that HIS selection is based upon the inequality of men and that HE invariably picked the best, when HE did not allow HIS will to be thwarted by the will of men.

CHRIST'S call of his apostles was based upon the knowledge of the fact that all men are not born equal in the literal and absolute sense of the term. Why did HE take so much care in the calling of these twelve men? Why did HE pray so long and so earnestly before their selection, if there were other twelve men who were their equal and equally qualified to do the work the MASTER had for this twelve to do? Why did he choose Peter, James, and John to be HIS most intimate friends, if there were three others who were just as trustworthy and deserving of that big honor? Why did only certain members of the Hebrew family write the Bible, if there were others just as gifted to do this work as efficiently and well as these? If there was another nation as good and capable as the Jews, why was it not declared that the gospel should first be preached to them? The gospel, according to the program of GOD, was to be offered and proclaimed first to the Jews, not only because they merited it, but also because they were superior from GOD'S point of view to any other people, and best fitted for leaders in the establishment of HIS kingdom in the world. GOD'S high estimate of the character of HIS people and HIS profound appreciation of the contributions which they made to the spread of the truth, and the establishment of HIS kingdom in the world, is convincingly proven in the fact that the twelve names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel, and that the twelve names written on the twelve foundations thereof are the twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb. Rev. 21:9-14.

The Jews are under a curse today because they rejected and crucified the SON of GOD and the son of man, the offspring of David, and the finest issue their blood could produce, but GOD has not forsaken them or branded HIS work in their breeding a failure. HE will ultimately subject them to a drastic testing to the end that HE might bring a remnant of HIS chosen people back to himself.

Consider CHRIST'S selection of HIS associates and friends, those who were closest to HIM, outside the twelve Apostles. While JESUS had no home during the closing days of HIS life, notice how much of HIS spare time in HIS busy life HE spent in the company of Lazarus, Martha, and Mary. They were members of what race? What was the character of this man and his two sisters? What other family was as close to JESUS as this Jewish house-

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hold? Some will cite the incident where the MASTER talked to the Samaritan woman at the well as evidence of the fact that Christians should put themselves upon a plane of social equality with any and all people they meet or with whom they work. Certainly this example of the MASTER teaches us that we should not hold ourselves aloof from individuals who need CHRIST as their Saviour. We should not be actuated by self-pride, and above taking the good news to any lost soul, regardless of his station in life. No Christian can consistently look down upon, despise, or hate any man, but it is equally clear that JESUS does not show here that HE looked upon this woman as the equal of Martha and Mary, and as one worthy of being HIS intimate friend. We are urged to move among all people with GOD'S message of love and life, but we are enjoined not to be of them.

We will get a clear understanding of how to weigh CHRIST'S teaching and conduct in regard to this subject, if we get a correct conception of the one purpose of HIS coming into the world. Let CHRIST tell us why HE came. Here is what HE said about the motive of HIS advent: "For the Son of Man came to seek and to save that which was lost." Lk. 19:10. In the following familiar words the beloved Apostle tells why the FATHER gave HIS son: "For GOD so loved the world, that HE gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on HIM should not perish, but have eternal life." John 3:16. The Apostle Peter tells what JESUS accomplished for us in HIS death on the cross when he wrote: "Who his own self bear our sins in HIS body upon the tree, that we, being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness: by whose stripes ye are healed." I Pet. 2:24.

But there are those who say our gospel is a social gospel. They claim that JESUS came to redeem men socially. To be sure Christianity makes men better members of society. Our Churches should work to improve the social conditions of all men; but the one aim of the coming of our LORD was to save lost souls. The gospel of Christ blesses every phase of man's life, but these are byproducts of our religion. We could just as appropriately say our good news was a mental, moral, or financial gospel as to refer to it as a social gospel. Men who preach a social gospel proclaim a limited gospel. That is all they have to offer the world. You may find these reformers among those who would overthrow our segregation laws.

The MASTER in HIS intercessory prayer made this plea: "Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we are." Jno. 17:11.

Recently some writer quoted the words "may be one" as an argument for doing away with our requirements of separation, and as a reason why white people should attend the services of negro churches, and vice versa, if not join them. But what kind of oneness does JESUS have in mind in this phrase? Do not the following words, "even as we are" tell what HE meant? Since GOD and HIS son exist only

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as Spirits, their unity could be nothing but spiritual. JESUS must, therefore, be making a petition for the spiritual unity of all believers. It is very clear that those who oppose separate schools, colleges, churches, and public gathering for white peoples and negroes want to destroy both races and people our country with mulattoes. Those who want to put the MASTER'S stamp of approval upon the intermarriage of whites and blacks do not find authority to do so in this verse of scripture.

I have stated previously that all men are not born equal in the literal and absolute sense of this word. But all men are born wholly equal from two standpoints. All of us are born equal from the standpoint of the fact of sin, but not the extent of sin. Paul declares, "For all have sinned, and come short of the glory of GOD." Rom. 3:23 A.S.R. He further affirms, "But the Scripture concluded all under sin." Gal. 3:22. A.S.R. All men are also equal in the offer of divine and saving grace. GOD declared that the purpose of the gift of HIS son was that "every one who believed on HIM should have eternal life." Jno. 3:16.

If the reader wants further information on the fact that the MASTER recognizes the inequality of men, let him turn to Matt. 25:15-25. The Apostle Paul makes a strong argument against the contention that all men are equal, in comparing the different members of the Christian church to the organs of the human body. I Cor. 12:4-30 and Rom. 12:4-31.

Christ did not ignore the inequality of individuals and races. CHRIST did not advocate the erasure of the lines which the FATHER set up to separate the nations which he had made to dwell on HIS earth. All efforts to destroy the races which God made to populate HIS world, and to make out of them a motley people are blind or willful acts of devotees of doctrines which are incompatible to our beliefs and, if embraced and enforced, would utterly obliterate our way of life in the United States of America.

SEGREGATION OF RACES

Since I wrote my four articles on segregation, now published in pamphlet form, the Supreme Court of the United States has rendered its announced unanimous decision prohibiting segregation in public schools, colleges, universities, transportation, and places of amusement and recreation. But this ruling does not make segregation ethically wrong. The decisions of this tribunal may embody and compose the laws of our land, but they do not and cannot supersede the laws of our Lord, certainly not so far as Christians are concerned. I am not advocating revolt against this opinion, certainly not to the point of violence, but I am pleading for opposition in every way short of physical combat. I think Christians and all people who believe in GOD and desire to obey the teachings of the Bible have good and sufficient grounds and authority to say to our law-makers and leaders, in the language of the apostle Peter; "whether it is right in the sight of God to hearken unto you rather than unto God, judge ye." Acts 4:19.

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It has been suggested that since the Supreme Court has made its ruling, that I should desist writing any more on this subject. I do not intend to cease writing and calling peoples' attention to what God's word has to say on this important question. And this subject is vitally important. We are dealing here with a problem that concerns our sons and daughters, the most valuable possession of fathers and mothers.

Some may contend that it is useless for me to argue in favor of segregation from the standpoint of the Bible, claiming that very few will be influenced by this line of reasoning. My reply to this contention is that our citizens would do well to listen to the words of the Bible and try to conform to its teaching, for ultimately they will have to reckon with the author of this book, who according to Paul determined their (Nations of earth) "appointed seasons", their rise and fall. There are many prominent and highly educated men and women who place immeasurable value and importance upon the Bible and urge a close study of it. Dr. Kittredge of Harvard in a burst of sharp sarcasm at the seniors of that college, who were in his class, because they could not tell him the author of these words which Shakespeare puts in the mouth of one of his actors: "Ye are of your father the devil,—for he is a liar, and the father thereof". Jno. 8:44, said in part: "Regardless of what you may think of the Bible, after all, it is the Book of books."

I recommend that the reader turn and read the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters of Genesis. This section of Scripture is unique. The historical facts recorded here are not to be found in any other reliable source of information. The only dependable or trustworthy voice that speaks on the happenings of the human family during the flood era and during a thousand years thereafter is the voice of the Bible. If you reject this report of the sacred writer as unreliable, this becomes a definitely blank period. But there are some noted scholars who do not look upon these writings as scraps of paper, somethings we cannot rely upon. In speaking of the tenth chapter of Genesis, Dr. Rawlinson says that "this genealogy of the sons of Noah is the most authentic record that we possess for the affiliation of the nations." Dr. Kalisch in writing of this chapter says that it is an unparalleled and deep research, and "no less valuable as an historical document than as a lasting proof of the brilliant capacity of the Hebrew mind."

It is an indisputable fact that the majority of students of the customs and moral nature of men regard this table as of the very highest value, and speak of all races as either semitic, aryan or turanian. Scientists have finally adopted a threefold division of the human family conforming to that already given us by Moses. Here are the progenitors of all peoples according to the record; "and the sons of Noah, that went forth from the ark, were Shem, and Ham, and Japheth: and Ham is the father of Canaan. These three were the sons of Noah: and of these was the whole earth overspread." Gen.

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8:18, 19. Let any interested person read these chapters and decide for himself whether or not this history is worthy of our consideration and acceptance. Notice with what definiteness, confidence, courage, and authority the author writes. Jesus was a close and constant reader of the Old Testament, the only Bible then in written form. He believed in these Scriptures and that their truths and laws were of permanent value. Regarding this fact, he said "For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass one jot (the smallest letter in the Greek and Hebrew alphabet) or one tittle (ornamental curl of Hebrew letters) shall in no wise pass from the law, till all things be fulfilled." Matt. 5:18.

A study of the prophetic announcements made regarding the characters and missions of the three sons of Noah will give us a preview of the kind of people that were to populate the earth. These men had the same father and mother, but how different or unlike in their character, conduct, and capacities. They had reason to be proud of their father for "Noah was a just man, and perfect in his generation; Noah walked with God". Gen. 6:9. Noah was very close to God, he was his mouthpiece. What he said about what his sons and their descendants would do in their lives, and what success or failure would attend their efforts, has the stamp of divine authority. Noah walked with God, but he stumbled one time, but only one, according to Moses' account. He drank too much wine and became drunk. It is universally the habit of biblical writers to tell the good and the bad about men, even when they are God's favorites. Ham ran across his father in this spree, naked in his tent, and he went and told his brothers without, in the streets. When Noah awoke from his drunkenness he "knew what his youngest son had done unto him," and he said, "cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." Gen. 9:24, 25.

Does it seem that God dealt too harshly with Canaan, who now takes the place of his father, Ham, for this seemingly small, insignificant misdemeanor? Read the record closely. Notice these words, "knew what his son had done unto him." These words seem to point out some certain specific act of conduct. Remember that the sons of Noah were born and grew up to be grown men on the other side of the flood. They had lived their early years, the formative period of life, among a very wicked, corrupt, and ungodly people. They had formed certain definite ideas of life, and adopted a precise code of morals for their lives.

In the sixth chapter of Genesis you find a description of the character of the antediluvians. Gen. 6:1-5.

"And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them. That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose. And the LORD said, My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years. There

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were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown. And GOD saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart, was only evil continually."

This is the darkest picture of the wickedness and moral depravity of men that was ever painted by any writer. And the hardest words spoken were by man's Creator—God. These are the associates and friends of Shem and Ham, and Japheth while they were growing into manhood. Some of these men and women were their own kindred. It is perfectly logical to conclude that these sons of Noah would carry over with them across the flood like propensities to sin, wickedness, and lasciviousness. Ham is most likely exhibiting here a like moral degeneracy. It is remotely possible that he committed the unspeakable moral act with his father. Evidence points conclusively to the fact that Sodom and Gomorrah were inhabited by the offspring of Ham, and Moses relates that the populace of these two cities practiced this debasing sin. Regardless of the nature or kind of this specific sinful act, it appears very reasonable that Ham did more than look upon his father, drunk, and naked in his tent. God does not arbitrarily and without just cause pronounce this curse upon Canaan, making him become a servant of servants, or to perform the most menial kind of servitude. It would take a work of divine, saving grace, a marvelous miracle, to save Ham and his brothers from being overpowered by the influence of the depraving tendencies of this dark era, and the proneness toward sin, embodied in their nature.

In writing down the genealogy of Ham, Moses paused long enough to give us a brief historical sketch of a very wicked grandson of Noah, the son of Cush.

8) And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth. 9) He was a mighty hunter, before the LORD: wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the LORD. 10) And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. 11) Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, 12) And Resen between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city. Gen. 10:8-12.

The name of this grandson of Cush was Nimrod, which means "rebel or let us rebel." He was the engineer and builder of the tower of Babel. He is spoken of as being "a mighty one" in the earth. This may mean that he was a giant physically, one who possessed superhuman strength, like the men before the flood. Reference may be made to such a man or men when Moses said, "The Nephilim (giants) were in the earth in those days, and also after that". Notice those words. They certainly point to the future. He is also described as being "a mighty

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hunter before Jehrvah". Some think that this pictures him as standing before God defiantly, and this interpretation is in keeping with the significance of his name. If this is the meaning of this phrase, then the builders of this tower were saying by its erection, "We will defy and defeat God's plan of salvation of mercy and grace, and demonstrate that we can ascend to the throne of heaven by the works of our hands." When God confounded their language, Nimrod was stung by his defeat, and went down into Assyria and built the first empire of the world. Nimrod was the first great political potentate of the world. He built four cities in Assyria in close proximity to each other, which finally became a quad-city and assumed the name "Ninevah". This possibly explains the expression, "the same is the great city."

When Moses finished the list of the names of the sons of Ham he tells what portion of the earth they are to occupy in these words: "And the border of the Canaanite was from Sidon as thou goest toward Gerar, unto Gaza, as thou goest toward Sodom and Gomorrah, unto Admah and Zeboim, even unto Lasha". Gen. 10:19. Since the time of the writing of these generations, Sodom and Gomorrah have been destroyed by fire, and an earthquake has put their ashes underneath the water of the southern end of the Dead Sea. Scholars have not been able to identify the other cities, but the last city named was possibly located on the southern end of the Persian Gulf. If this was the site of Lasha, then the boundary separating Ham and his sons from Shem and his sons, would run from Gerar and Gaza to the southern end of the Dead Sea, and from thence, along the southern coast of the Red Sea, to the southern end of the Persian Gulf. The families of the earth at that time certainly knew the location of the lines which divided the earth, even if we are not able to perfectly trace them. Nimrod rebelled against God's plans of dividing his earth, of allotting to each of the three sons of Noah that portion which he wanted them to occupy, and of forcing these sons and their families to move on to the lands chosen for them. Either by persuasion, coercion, or trickery this great monarch gained a multitudinous following and made a masterful stroke to defeat the leadership of God in the world. His defeat at the tower of Babel was a forecast of what was to befall him in Assyria. *No man or people can succeed in any effort that has as its aim the defeat of God's purposes and plans.* The fate of Babel was the fate of Nineveh. "The prophecies of Nahum (all 3 chapters) and Zephaniah (2:13-3:8) paint in realistic colors the tragedy that overwhelmed the great lion of the nations. The catastrophe was so disastrous and the results so complete that Xenophon with his 10,000 Greeks, who passed the ruins in the beginning of the 4th Century B.C., could not ascertain what they represented. From that date almost to the middle of the last century the identity of these ruins was a mystery to every traveler who saw them." New Stand. Bible Dict. (Funk-Wagnalls).

Another act of opposition to God's plan for the division of the earth and the separation of his peoples was committed by Canaan, seemingly the most prominent son of Ham. When he took possession of Palestine and populated it, so complete was this exploitation that this territory became known as "the land of Canaan." Palestine was a part of the earth given to Shem and his generations. It was specifically promised to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and it is repeatedly called "the land of promise." Some may have found it hard to understand why the Jews were allowed to and helped by Jehovah to wrest this piece of land from the hands of the Canaanites, but it is clear when we see how He bequeathed this property to Shem and his heirs. That was an outburst of bitter resentment when the great patriarch remarked as he passed through this territory, "and the Canaanite was still in the land." Abraham knew the bounds of the habitations of the races of the earth, and looked upon this son of Ham as a usurper, and spoke with indignation about him. Nimrod likewise was a squatter, and he, too, went down in ignominious defeat under the omnipotent hand of the God of the Hebrews.

"Blessed be the LORD God of Shem; And let Canaan be his servant". Gen. 9:26. In these words we have the blessing pronounced, not upon Shem, but the God of Shem, and the place he would occupy among the nations of the world. Jehovah is blessed because of what he has done, and is to do through his peoples to all humanity. And what rich and manifold gifts God has bestowed upon mankind through the Jews, culminating in what Paul describes as "the unspeakable (indescribable) gift", and for which the apostle gives hearty thanks. II Cor. 9:15. The Jews have also made valuable contributions to all the achievements, developments and progress of the human families.

"God shall enlarge Japheth, and let him dwell in the tents of Shem." Gen. 9:27. Moses tells here the blessing conferred on Japheth, and his intimate relationship with Shem. I think this is the correct translation. I do not believe that "him" of the last phrase refers to God. The present reading is more natural and sensible. The part Japheth and his sons have played in the advancement of civilization has for the most part been very similar to that of Shem and his sons. His most valuable donations have been spiritual ones. Shem and his sons were God's first representatives, and the chief exponents of His religion in the old dispensation, while Japheth and his offspring have been the leaders in the propagation of the good news of God in the new era. Japheth took up where Shem left off. They mutually supplement each other in matters of religion, and in all the activities of mankind, for the advancement of civilization.

What have Ham and his sons done for the growth and progress of the human race through the centuries? Profane history will have to tell that story. I have recited the information the Bible records as to the activities and achievements of the black man, the unquestionable descendant of Ham. Noah did

not bestow a blessing upon this, his younger son, but he did put a curse upon him. We read frequent statements made as to the progress and advancements of negroes in modern times, but I do not know of any outstanding and worthwhile contribution this race made in past centuries. And when you are evaluating the growth of this people you will have to take into account what the white man's money and help has meant to the negro in his step upward. I trust they are growing better morally. If the reports I have read are true, when the U. S. was trying to cure our citizens of venereal diseases, negroes were found to have as many of these diseases as all the white people, even though the white race outnumbered them ten to one. And the children of the white people of the U. S. are the ones the Supreme Court is trying to force to go to school with the children of this people. White people have nothing to be proud of, when it comes to morals, but there is no reason for making matters worse. One of the most shameful acts of immoral conduct that I know of is for a white man to cohabit with a negro woman. I have known of white men living with negro women and raising a family by and with them. Such men should be ostracized by white people and frequently are, when known. For the good and the protection of the morals of our children, and I may say for the good and the protection of the morals of good negroes, children should be kept separate. Remember God's reason for keeping his races separated. According to Paul, God's aim was a spiritual one, the salvation of men.

Some one is asking, "what makes the negro black, and was that a part of the curse put upon Ham and Canaan?" the son who takes his place. I addressed the first question to a smart doctor friend of mine, and he replied, "It is a certain pigment that makes the negro black." I asked him where the black man got this pigment. He replied, "That I do not know." We know from Paul that God made all the nations on the earth from or out of one (man or blood). But the black race is quite different from the white race. God made this difference. It is very logical to conclude that God put the pigment in Ham's or his offsprings' blood that made them black. Ham was given this name because he was black, or was to be made black. Dr. David Livingston, the great English missionary and explorer, and one who spent most of his mature years among the black natives of Africa, expresses my conviction on this question in these words, "God made the white man white because He wanted him white, and He wants him kept white; God made the black man black because He wanted him black, and He wants him kept black; the devil made the mulatto."

By a study of the names in the table in the tenth chapter of Genesis, we can find the origin of nearly all the white people who live or have lived in Europe, America and a large part of Asia. Scholars point out the names of the forefathers of the Greeks, Romans (Latin), Germans, Russians, Italians, Spaniards, Medes, Persians, French, and several other smaller races, and these occupy the portion of the

earth assigned to Japheth. Read Isa. 49:1-6. You see from this passage that America was included in Japheth's inheritance. Compare these words "O isles", "gentiles" with the description Moses gave of the land to be inhabited by him. Notice the extent of his kingdom, expressed in these words, "unto the end of the earth." To the O. T. writers "the isles of the Gentiles" embraced all lands west of Palestine, or the sea. Isaiah was called to be a messenger, not only to Judah and Israel, but to the Gentiles of the earth, all descendants of Japheth, the other white race, besides the Hebrews.

What information do we gather here about Ham and his offspring? We learn that his name means "black". We learn that the name of his son, Cush, designates the Ethiopians, including also the Southern Asiatics. Cush is generally rendered "Ethiopia" in the authorized Version of the Bible. Mizriam, another son of Ham, in the O. T. is the name for Egypt or the Egyptians. The origin of the Mero-Ethiopians and Sabaeans is to be found in the family of Ham. We learn from this table that the land south of Gerar and Gaza, and south of the Dead Sea, and south and west of the Red Sea, was Ham's portion of the earth, and we see that the people who then or later populated that territory were the offspring of Ham, the black son of Noah. We know today that Africa is the home of the black race, and that country is the divinely given heritage to them when God divided his earth.

In our study of the generations of Noah and his sons, we did not discover the origin of the Mongoloid group of people. But we are to keep in mind that scholars have not yet been able to figure out the meaning of the names given to some of these men listed in these genealogies, and it could be that these individuals are the forefathers of these races. There have always been intermarriages between the nations of the earth, and it is possible that the beginnings of these families are to be found in the children of these parents.

Let us end this article on a happy note. I have written at length about the tower of Babel. There have been many sermons preached about it and its builder. I doubt if you have ever heard one about another tower which was made during these same times, and on account of the same historical and divine act. In the genealogy of Shem there was a man by the name Heber (Eber). From this word we derive this name of the Jews—"Hebrew". Heber was very much impressed by the division of the earth. He was quite a different man to Nimrod, the builder of Babel. His feeling about this work of God was just the opposite to that of Ham's grandson. The kind of tower he erected was very unlike the one set up at Babel. Nimrod's was made of brick and mortar; Heber's was composed of blood, flesh, and spirit. This Hebrew had a son born to him about the time of the partitioning of the earth. He called his son Peleg. Now this name means division. So we know that Heber gave his son this name because of this allotment of the lands to sons

of Noah. When you think of God's division of His earth among His races, think of these two towers. One was a monument of opposition and rebellion; the other is a monument of approval and cooperation. One was destroyed; the other is immortal. What kind of monument are we erecting to commemorate God's segregation of his nations?

THE MIRACLE OF SEGREGATION

We cannot fully appreciate the importance God placed upon His plan of segregation of His peoples until we understand the extent to which He went to have His program put into operation. Study closely the statement Moses made about the language and speech of the descendants of Noah: "And the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech". Gen. 11:1. Notice that the writer says "the whole earth". He did not leave room for any one to say that a part of the earth had another language and another speech. What the author literally wrote was this: "And the whole earth was of one lip, and one stock of words". We know that "lip" is the physical organ of utterance, and that "stock of words" are the vehicles of ideas, thoughts and emotions. We fully understand that since they had only one stock of words, they needed only one lip to express their stock of words. We know from facts of history, as well as from inference, that God gave His races additional lips and additional stocks of words. We know also from history and experience that different stocks of words require different lips to express them. For example, it takes a different lip to speak the Hebrew language to that that speaks the Greek tongue. But where did these diverse "lips" and "stock of words" originate? Destructive and atheistic critics try to explain these linguistic phenomena upon natural grounds, but they can go only so far, and then they are up against an inexplicable fact. By grouping the many various languages into likes and dislikes, they are able to trace them back to three parent stocks. They call these three tongues Semitic, Aryan and Turanian. But they are unable to discover further natural paths that run from these three lips and three stocks of words to one lip and one stock of words. Not being able to trace these three tongues back to the "one lip" and "one stock of words" upon natural grounds, they cease their efforts, and are dubious as to whether it can ever be done. They scoff at miracles. To them an intervention by God is unthinkable. In fact, they are atheistic in their beliefs and doctrines.

Dr. B. H. Carroll rightly remarks "they are not only dubious, they are dumb." These words of the Bible . . . "the fool hath said in his heart, There is no God," is just as applicable to the able scientist as it is to the ordinary layman. (Ps. 14:1). If they can discover natural lines that lead them back to three parent tongues, it is unthinkable that they cannot uncover natural paths that run back to the one parent tongue, if indeed these three tongues can be accounted for by laws of nature.

Noah had three sons, and it is logical to conclude that God gave to each of these a particular lip and

a definite stock of words. It is encouraging to see that scientists have at least found their way back to three parent tongues, even though they do not know where they are after they have arrived. The unquestionable solution to these linguistic changes, the origin of these three tongues, is to be found in one of the most wonderful and significant miracles of all time. In importance it transcends the plagues of Egypt. We find no like superhuman work until the descent of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost. He descended upon peoples of many lips and many stocks of words and enabled them to understand, as if in their own language, any speaker, regardless of his tongue. The one aim at Pentecost was the spread of the Gospel, and the salvation of men. At Babel people assembled with one tongue, and God gave them three lips and three stocks of words, so that one group of people could not understand what the other group said. The object here, however, was to scatter the peoples abroad, and for the population of God's earth.

God's first command to Adam and Eve was this—"Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth." Gen. 1:28. After the flood, God purposed to inhabit His earth with the generation of Noah, who was the second head of humanity, Adam being the first and federal head of all mankind. God's first command to Noah and his sons was the same as that given to Adam. "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth." Gen. 9:1.

God had one earth to be occupied, and He was determined that it should be occupied by Noah and his offspring. This fact is pointedly stated in these words . . . "These are the three sons of Noah, and of them was the whole earth overspread." Gen. 9:19. For emphasis this fact is stated again in Gen. 10:32.

God has one Gospel, and only one, and He planned on the day of Pentecost to hasten the spread of His good news over His earth, and that is why He performed that wonderful miracle. God had one people, and only one, and He planned at Babel to populate His earth with that people, and that is why He wrought that mighty miracle that brought about the segregation of races. Neither the miracle on the day of Pentecost, nor the miracle at Babel can be explained by the laws of nature. You can reject one as being unreasonable as easily as you can the other. To one who believes in God, as revealed in the Bible, all miracles are reasonable.

God keenly felt the necessity of the rapid spread of His Gospel, and that explains the miracle of Pentecost. God realized the necessity of scattering His people over the earth and that explains the miracle of Babel. It isn't a light thing for any man to try to defeat God's plan to segregate His races, any more than it is for him to labor to keep God from spreading His Gospel over the earth. If it is a sin to disregard and disobey some of God's laws, it is a sin to disregard and disobey any one of God's laws. If the reader thinks I am warped in my thinking, when I contend that the origin of the different languages and speeches at Babel was brought about

by a wonderful miracle of God, let him ponder the following words of a noted German philosopher: "Humanity cannot have left that condition in which there was no distinction of peoples, but only of races, without a spiritual crisis, which must have been of the deepest significance, must have taken place in the basis of human consciousness itself . . . For we cannot conceive of different peoples without different languages; and language is something spiritual. If difference of peoples is not something that was not from the first, but is something that has arisen, then must this also hold true of the different languages. Here we fall in with the oldest account of the human race, the Mosaic writings; toward which so many are disinclined, only because they know not what to do with it, can neither understand nor use it. Genesis puts the rise of peoples in connection with the rise of different languages; but in such a way that the confounding of the language is the cause, the rise of the people, the effect."

Dr. B. H. Carroll's Com. on Gen. p. 212 (Broadman Press).

OPPONENTS OF SEGREGATION

Opposition to segregation has been greatly intensified in recent years. In my study of this subject, I have been impressed with this effort to overthrow GOD'S purposes and plan for His people, and would like to know the people and organizations back of this movement, and what can be said to explain their endeavor.

Some ministers of the gospel and some members of every denomination are lending their effort to tear down the bounds which God erected to separate His races. I shall limit my remarks on the subject of the opponents of segregation to the disciples of Christ and negro leaders. According to my estimate followers of Christ are the most influential of any who could be lined up against this law and practice. This plan of God for the separation of His races will remain in force, or it will be abandoned according to what stand christian people take.

God divulged His evaluation of the races in the prophecies of Noah, and His high opinion of the white people, who descended from Japheth, in the blessings He pronounced upon him and his offspring. This is fully demonstrated in the fact that they, the gentiles, were chosen to be the exponents of His religion, and the messengers of His saving truth, after the sons of Shem, the first white race selected, had rejected God's son and Savior of men, and had deserted His work of the evangelization of the world. God's first choice was Shem and his sons; His second choice was Japheth and his sons. Historical facts, both sacred and profane, prove beyond question the wisdom of God's selections. Christian leaders should be acquainted with these facts, and ought to be the last to ignore and repudiate them.

It is our christian duty to respect, be courteous and friendly toward, and endeavor to help the black race, but this does not mean that we should become

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familiar with, or intermarry with them. Christians are genuinely good people, they are the best we have in all walks of life, they are actually the salt of the earth, as the Master of men said, but they are not always wise.

Jesus contrasted saints and sinners, and made this unusual comment; "And his lord commended the unjust steward because he had done wisely; for the sons of this world are in their generation wiser than the sons of the light." Luke 16:8. On another occasion the Master admonished his disciples saying: "be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves." Mat. 10:16. A Baptist minister and a member of a committee appointed to draft resolutions regarding this question, gave as his argument for Baptists conforming to the ruling of the Supreme Court in this expression—"That we may more perfectly conform to Christian teaching." That statement is so general that it is meaningless. What act of Christ, or what word of Christ calls for the annulment of these laws, or any of the laws God ever enacted? We should pray earnestly and long before we lend our efforts to break down God's racial barriers, for they are definitely and unmistakably the work of God. There is one conclusion that we can draw and that is this: if we ever break down these racial bounds and destroy the white race, which God has wonderfully blessed and enlarged and made the channel of the good news of God, hand in hand with the sons of Shem, we can never build it up again. As a matter of fact, it is a great sin to try to destroy any work of God.

Ministers and christians generally are very susceptible to all movements that are idealistic in their aims. They are open to the acceptance of communism, and to efforts to abolish segregation. Communism is working to make people one in material things. This movement aims at making them one physically. Communism is contrary to the teaching of the Bible. This effort is to destroy the clear teaching of the Bible. In spite of these facts many christians have embraced these efforts.

We have concrete proof of my contention in the apostolic era of Christianity. The Christians of that era tried communism, but they soon learned that this plan for their material lives would not work, and they abandoned it. They learned to their embarrassment and sorrow that members of their society were dishonest, untruthful, selfish, and would not perform their whole duty to this program. Nothing is said of this plan in the Bible, either for or against, but students of God's word know that communism and the annulment of God's laws of segregation are contrary to its teachings. Acts. 4:32-5:10.

Negroes and mulattoes, and especially the latter, are doing all they can to destroy our segregation laws. For centuries negroes have been dissatisfied with their color. In the days of Jeremiah, 600 to 700 years before Christ, people were asking, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? then may ye also do good, that are accustomed to do evil." Jer. 13:23. The impossibility of

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this undertaking is indicated in the closing words of this verse. If you are in doubt as to the real aim of this movement read what two leaders of this endeavor said in interviews with reporters of the U. S. News and World Report, September 2, 1952 and May 28, 1954. What they actually want is the intermarriage of the white and black races.

SEGREGATION OR DEGENERACY

One of Humanity's most prevalent sins is immorality. The Bible paints a very ugly picture of man's moral life. Defeat and destruction have befallen the sons of Adam because of their lack of control of their physical passions. Any one who is concerned with the spiritual progress of our race and the salvation of men must be depressed when he looks upon visible evidence of the lasciviousness of men. The numerous mulattoes in our towns and cities is convincing proof of this fact. It is quite obvious that Thomas Jefferson visualized this condition when he concluded his opinion of segregation with these words, "If on the contrary, it is left to force itself on human nature must shudder at the prospect." Mr. Jefferson advocated the deportation of negroes to Africa, the division of the earth assigned to them by their Creator. It is very significant that the boundary which separated the territory of Ham, the black son of Noah, from the region of Shem, the ancestor of the Jews, was definitely and specifically drawn. There were eight towns named in that line; namely, Sidon, Gerar, Gaza, Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, and Lasha. It ran from the Mediterranean sea, to the southern end of the Dead sea, and to the southern end of the Persian gulf. I think it ran along the side of the Red Sea, and up the coast of the Indian Ocean. God ran this line from one natural barrier to another, so that its location could not be questioned or changed. Paul must have had this line in mind when he declared that God had determined the "bounds" (mountain-set-ups) of the races He made to dwell on His earth.

The sons of Noah knew where these lines were, but in defiance of this fact, the sons of Ham took steps to rob the sons of Shem of the land of promise, and other lands north of this boundary.

The chief sin of the people who were destroyed by the flood was immorality. The race was totally bankrupt morally. They made physical passion the sole basis of matrimony. "The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they took them wives of all that they chose." Gen. 6:2. The antediluvians were so steeped in moral depravity that they practiced polygamy without limitation. Why was this group of men so immoral? Were their predecessors slaves to passion to the extent they were? One gets the impression in reading this account, that this corruption is of recent and sudden occurrence.

It seems to me that to understand the reason for the downfall of men here, we must know what is meant by the expression, "sons of God." There are two main explanations of these words. Some understand that the writer here refers to the sons

of Seth, one of God's chosen men, a progenitor of His selected people. These commentators hold that the daughters of men were the offspring of Cain. Here are some objections to this interpretation:

1. This is the only time this title "sons of God" was ever used by Moses. People who are regenerated are so designated by writers of the N. T. but not by this author.

2. Seth lived in several centuries before the deluge.

Why were not his immediate offspring or the sons of some other man of God addressed as the "sons of God"? 3. The conduct of these men was very inconsistent with their calling. They acted and lived like the sons of the devil. You would not expect this lawgiver to call libertines and polygamists "sons of God." Other writers say that by "sons of God," Moses meant "fallen angels," or "wicked spirits." One objection raised against this theory is that spirits do not marry, neither are they given in marriage, that they do not possess animal passion. But if these supposed wicked angels did have physical real fleshy bodies, then they could have physical passion. This is a very singular happening. It is not the only mysterious thing that has occurred in human experiences, however, or that will take place, if Bible prophecy is fulfilled. The devil was permitted to exercise unusual power during the life of Christ. Consider the story of two men who were possessed of demons who talked to the master, and with his permission, went out of these men and entered into a drove of swine, and caused the swine to rush into the sea, where they were drowned. Matt. 8:28-34. Destructive and atheistic commentators may make light of this story and try to explain it away, but if you erase this as being irrational and unbelievable, you can by the same method blot out many things that are presented by the Bible as historical facts. We should never forget that with God all things are possible. Believers can easily subscribe to that doctrine.

It must be admitted that the contention that these "sons of God," were incarnated fallen spirits, cannot be explained along natural lines, but the same can be said of nearly, if not, all miracles. The cast of the demons and the swine mentioned above, is not identical with that of fallen spirits appearing in human form, but the two are miracles and similar. Both are miraculous and outside the pale of human reasoning.

Not only is the appearance of wicked spirits in human form peculiar, unusual, and irrational, if this is the correct interpretation of this incident, but the offspring of the sons of God and the daughters of men are equally peculiar, unusual, and beyond reasonable explanation. The sons of this union were called "Nephilim." They are described as being "giants," "of old," and "men of renown," (fame).

We know nothing of the etymology of this term, "Nephilim." It is found only here, and in Num. 13:33. According to the new standard Bible Dict., it is satisfactory to say that the Nephilim of Num. 13:33 was a race of men of extraordinary size, but

in Gen. 6:4 superhuman or semi-divine beings are meant." But I know of no reason why this word should be given one meaning in Gen. 6:4 and another in Num. 13:33, but we are interested just now, with Gen. 6:4 and we call attention to the fact that the authors of this dictionary believe that the "Nephilim" were something above men, half-human and half-divine. (Funk & Wagnalls)

"The Nephilim were in the earth in those days, and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same were the mighty men that were of old, the men of renown." Gen. 6:4. This verse records the first appearance of these super-human beings, but Moses does prophesy their presence after the flood. This forecast is soon to be fulfilled. While Nimrod is not specifically designated as a "Nephilim," he is described as being a "giant," a mighty one, "A mighty hunter before the Lord." The picture drawn of Nimrod in Gen. 10:8-12 definitely coincides with the big men of Gen. 6:4. This is the first appearance of the Nephilim after the flood. Because the ten spies exaggerated the size, powers, and habits of the Canaanites of the Holy Land, we are not to conclude that some of this people were not "Nephilim." Note here also that these physical giants belong to the descendants of Noah's black son, Ham.

A striking incident of the moral bankruptcy of humanity, and the complete destruction visited upon them by Jehovah, occurred in Sodom and Gomorrah. The populace of these corrupt cities very evidently practiced homosexuality, and most of them are sons of Ham.

I believe that in our study of this subject we have discovered these historical facts:

1. That "the sons of God" were the definite cause of the moral breakdown of the antediluvians.
2. That the offspring of the union of the sons of God and the daughters of men was the "Nephilim," defined by some scholars as semi-human and semi-divine.
3. That these superhuman beings are found among the sons of Ham. We see no evidence of their presence in the families of Shem and Japheth. White people have nothing to gain, but much to lose, by associating with negroes, and intermarrying with them. The best interest of both races, is secured in their separation. That is why the Creator segregated the sons of Noah after the flood.

SEGREGATION AND SCIENCE

Some writer said recently that segregation did not have a single scientific leg on which to stand. The author furnished no information as a basis for the assertion. Like so many statements you read or hear, this is a broad, sweeping declaration that is given no ground on which to rest.

Does science supply us with no fact or facts to justify the segregation of the white and black races? Is there no physical and social difference between these two peoples? Was Thomas Jefferson wrong when he wrote—"Nature, habit, opinion—, have

drawn indelible lines of distinction between them"—in speaking on the segregation of these two races?

Was Abraham Lincoln speaking ignorantly when he declared—"There is a physical difference between the white and black races, which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social equality"?

Some will try to disregard the opinions of these two great statesmen on the ground that they were only laymen, and have no right to speak on such questions. They cannot likewise dismiss the statement of my prominent doctor and friend, who said—"there are pigments in the negro's skin that colors it black." The opinions of all the doctors with whom I have talked and of the authors, whose writings I have read, may be expressed as follows:

In a section of the negro skin there is found a line of pigments lying in and between the cells of the deepest layer of the outer skin of the black man.

If this is not a scientific leg on which segregation can stand, then there is no scientific fact on which to rest any human act or conduct.

Some have claimed that the negro is black because of the extreme heat of Africa. They will cite some cases where people of fair skins have supposedly been made much darker or black, after living in tropical climates for a number of years. This is external evidence of a change in the color of the epidermis. How about internal evidence? You will notice that no claim is made that the pigments of the white people have been converted into the pigments of the black man. And besides, nothing is said about developing into these white men other characteristics or physical features, such as flat noses, thick protruding lips, etc. Let the advocates of the theory of climatic changes of the color of races (apart from God) transport a company of pure white people into tropical climes and convert them into a tribe of full-blooded black people, including the negro pigment, and then they will have good ground for arguing that the white race and the black race are physically and socially equal. If the devotees of this conjecture can take a genuine white man and make him into a genuine negro or vice versa, then they will have performed a feat of which they may proudly boast.

JEFFERSON ON SEGREGATION

With the permission of Mr. John Temple Graves, I quote the remarks of Thomas Jefferson on segregation, and Mr. Graves' comments on the same, from his column in the July 20, 1954 issue of the Birmingham Post-Herald:

"What would Thomas Jefferson, the liberal Democrat, be thinking of the desegregation decision? He was for a much more extreme segregation than Southerners want today.

"Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate," he is quoted on page 91 of Prof. Bernard Mayo's "Jefferson Himself" (Houghton Mifflin), "than that these people are to be free; nor is it

less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation, peaceably and in such slow degree as that the evil will wear off insensibly and their place be, *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect."

This Jefferson quote couldn't get itself printed in New York. THE sage was not only a segregationist but extreme. He thought there would need to be deportation.

That is impossible now, but certainly you can say Jefferson would side with the South against the public school desegregation decision."

I wonder if the present members of the Supreme Court ever read these words of Jefferson, or, if, when pondered, they would have any weight with them?

Are they so much superior to the sage of Monticello in intelligence, patriotism and humaneness that they could not afford to consider this statesman's opinions, even though he did write the Declaration of Independence, and whose philosophy does find evident expressions in our Constitution? Would they, like New York, disdain to give publicity to the notions of this humble countryman? Mr. Jefferson isn't the only one whose ideas on this subject modernistic reformers try to ignore.

Give full thought to this comment: "Nature, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them." Compare these words with those of a high government official who is reported to have said recently "the differences between the two races are inconsequential." What a contrast! Any layman, who has lived among the two races, knows that nature, habit and opinion have drawn a fundamental line of distinction between them and one that cannot be erased. If Paul speaks with divine authority, and if the history of Genesis in its records of what happened after the flood are to be depended upon, then the Creator of man made that difference.

When those in authority forced desegregation upon the boys in our armed service — and then boasted of its marvelous success, may have been acting on the supposition that these men subscribed to their ideas of the "inconsequential differences" between the two races, but the decrease in the number of boys who are volunteering for service is telling a different story.

Christians are being mislead and intimidated into believing that they must practice desegregation or they are violating the Golden Rule. I heard a minister say over the television that all he knew to do about segregation was to follow this admonition of Christ. I believe in and practice separation in all social practices and customs with negroes, and I want them to do likewise so far as I am concerned. That is the logical application to this injunction. I

find nothing in the Old or New Testament that enjoins desegregation. The interpretation of the constitution by Mr. Jefferson, and not that of the judges of the Supreme Court is in accord with the expressed plan and purpose of God for his races. If I am to put myself in the place of the negro, with his ambition for social equality and intermarriage with white people, then Jehovah committed a known and unjust ethical sin in forcing segregation upon the races at Babel and throughout all ages. God was entirely inconsistent with the socialistic construction of this mandate of Jesus when He issued this edict to His people, "Neither shalt thou make marriages with them; thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son." Deut. 7:3. And remember that the peoples God makes reference to in this law are the descendants of Ham, the one and only black son of Noah. But if you insist on this application of this rule of Christian conduct, be consistent and follow it to its logical and inevitable end. When a black man presents himself and asks for your fair daughter in marriage, give him your hearty consent and unstinted blessing. If you are looking for divine authority for desegregation, you will have to write another Bible. I conclude as I began; "If segregation is wrong, God Almighty stands condemned."

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

In my study of segregation I have received much inspiration and information from the following authors:

DR. HACKETT—Com. on Acts.
DR. KNOWLING—Com. on Acts.
DR. CARROLL—Com. on Genesis.
PREACHERS HOM. COM.
DR. SPURRELL—Notes on Genesis.
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Minter, Alabama

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**Negroes Menaced
By Red Plot**

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Citizens Grass Roots Crusade of South Carolina

Box 551, Charleston, S. C.

March 18, 1954

ONE of the greatest and most alarming hoaxes perpetrated on the American people in the Red campaign to undermine the foundations of the United States spearheaded by the Communist drive among negroes started in 1920. So cunning and insidious has been (and is) the propaganda pressure of this subversive Red drive that it has fooled millions of respectable, loyal American negroes and deluded thousands of white "intellectuals" including clergymen, professors, teachers, scientists, etc. into following "the Communist line." Moreover, many stupid and/or selfish political leaders have been so misled by this Marxian propaganda that they have come to believe that the socializing of America is inevitable and that they can best secure the votes of "the people" by jumping on the Red bandwagon even to enacting runous, un-American legislation formulated by leftwing master-minds.

Negro citizens who in America enjoy more opportunities, privileges and prosperity than in any other country have been duped by the Reds into supporting the Socialist Communist plot to change our free American system, into a "welfare state" under a dictatorship. The bait held out to negroes is (quoting John T. Flynn, ref. A) "... always to raise the standard of living or education or social justice. But the real purpose always is to line up the negroes on the side of the Communists or their near brothers, the Socialist Planners. They thus invite the sympathy and support of great masses of negroes ..."

The objectives of the Reds in the South are: (1) To get the vote for the negroes there, and (2) to round up the negro voters under the Red banner of the Socialist Planners." (Ref. B).

Evidence that unsuspecting negroes are being used as tools by Communist and Socialist negro leaders may be found in the following statement of FACTS carefully checked and documented. We do not wish to see our negro friends deceived into supporting a sugar-coated scheme which will result in depriving them of their earnings and eventually will carry them back into slavery...

I.
Communist Negro Drive: "The Communist negro drive was started in the United States in 1920." (Ref. C). How to organize the negroes for the revolution in the U. S. was discussed in the official report of the Sixth

Congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow in 1928, and Comrade Jones, USA, chairman of the negro delegation from the United States, stated: "The central slogan around which we can rally the negro masses is the slogan of social equality." (Ref. D).

II.

NAACP: The National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was organized in 1910 to aid negro progress. But in 1925 "the official report of the Communist Party's 4th national convention stated that the Party had penetrated the NAACP." "During the 7 years, 1923-30, the NAACP received some \$43,000 from the radical Garland Fund among whose directors were Communists Wm. Z. Foster, Eliz. Gurley Flynn and others (Ref. E). Among the organizers of the NAACP was the Communist-front negro leader, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, (Ref. F).

Today the chairman of the NAACP Board of Directors is Channing H. Tobias listed at least 17 times as having been a member or officer or affiliate of Communist or Communist-front organizations (Ref. G). Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, one of the NAACP founders, was its Director of Research until about 1949 and now is reported to be its "Honorary Chairman." W. E. B. DuBois is listed at least 14 times by the House Un-American Activities Committee and the U. S. Attorney General as having been a member or officer or affiliate of Communist or Communist front organizations (Ref. H). With experienced Reds holding key positions in the NAACP it would be possible for the Communists to exert influence on the policies and membership of the NAACP. Among other NAACP officers cited by the House Un-American Committee report of July 21, 1947 are I. Maximilian Martin, secretary, (page 92) and Gaster Current (pages 80-81).

Official records show that the NAACP has been affiliated with Communist and leftwing movements. The NAACP was a member of "American Youth for a Free World," organized in 1942 (Ref. C, page 78). The AYFW is cited by the Federal Government (Ref. I, page 28) as having been a "Communist clearing house," and is listed (Ref. J, page 54) as "heavily infiltrated and effectively dominated by the Communist Party ...". In 1945 the "World Federation of Democratic Youth" was founded in London by 50 delegates including Gaster Current representing the NAACP (Ref. C, pages 80, 81).

The WFDY was cited in 1948 as a "part of the Communist International solar system," (Ref. I, page 123). The National Committee of the Communist Party on Feb. 23, 1946, made plans and issued a call "for the immediate formation of leftwing elements into a third party." The "essential forces" to be thus brought together were certain organizations listed in a report made at a meeting of the Communist Party on July 16, 1946 and including the NAACP which with the others named "participated in the conference held in Chicago at which the Progressive Citizens of America was set up," (Ref. C, pages 150-151). And news dispatches of March 15, 1954, state that three members of the NAACP in South Carolina are members of the Board of the Southern Educational Conference Fund called a Communist-front by the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee which is investigating this organization now.

Red Organizations: In THE ROAD AHEAD John T. Flynn has a chapter (pages 98-105) entitled "The War on the South." He discloses the program of the Reds for the negroes (see paragraphs 2 and 3 of this Bulletin) and gives a list of 87 Communist or Socialist organizations (from reports of House Un-American Activities Committee) which have been formed "for imposing their ideologies on the negro mind ..." (page 102). "The Inegral movement organized by Reds and Socialist Planners is supported by large funds, an ocean of propaganda, innumerable weekly and monthly journals, speakers, forums, pamphlets, meetings, demonstrations where advisable. It has been going on for years and drawing respectability and prestige from the names of many white citizens ... most of them having little knowledge and no understanding of the purposes back of the whole drive." The so-called liberals and intellectuals who imagine themselves broadminded must make a choice, says Mr. Flynn. Are they going to put their weight "on the side of a revolutionary Red drive to recruit the negro in order to swell the ranks of the army of Socialist voters who will be used to complete the destruction of our political and economic system?" (Page 103). Or shall we decide "that this negro question must be subordinate to the greater one of preserving our political and economic civilization" and "which will end in destroying the liberties of us all—white and black alike?"

IV.

Republican Negroes Boosted by Communist Magazine: In the February issue of OUR WORLD, a negro magazine published at 35 West 43rd St., New York, is an article titled "Eisenhower's Black Cabinet," (pages 24-29) which tells of some 15 negroes appointed to key Republican positions. The article says that an increasing number of the persons who determine and carry out federal policies are negroes. However, OUR WORLD is listed by the House Un-American Activities Committee as "among publications which the committee found 'to be Communist-initiated and controlled' . . ." (Ref. I, page 145).

The publisher of OUR WORLD is John P. Davis listed as vice-chairman of the 1938 Communist-front Southern Conference for Human Welfare (Ref. C, pages 137-138). John P. Davis has been executive secretary of the National Negro Congress cited as Communist by Attorney-General Tom Clark. He also was a member of the national committee of the International Labor Defense (Ref. C, page 140) cited as Communist by Attorney General Clark in 1948 and previously termed the "legal arm of the Communist Party" by Attorney-General Francis Biddle Sept. 24, 1942, (Ref. I, page 63). John P. Davis also "was connected with the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties" (Ref. C, page 140) cited as Communist by Attorney-General Clark (Ref. I, page 83). Thus a Communist magazine is seen boasting that the Republican Party is yielding to the demands of Communists and Communist-fronters who are using the drive among U. S. negroes as one prong of the Red attack on our Republic.

Can We Preserve Freedom in America?

Every intelligent, loyal American who has read the foregoing factual report on the Red drive among U. S. negroes must be convinced that it is an important part of the Communist-Socialist attack on the very foundations of our American liberty. The Red aim is to weaken and take over the United States by causing (a) social unrest, (b) racial dissension, and (c) disintegration of the American people. The ultimate result of a Red victory over America is forecast by actual conditions in Communist Russia where reliable authorities estimate there are 20 million slaves working for their Soviet masters. General Mark Clark says that the Communists have some 3,000 American soldiers held in slavery.

If we would preserve our free American heritage, all true patriots must unite to combat Communism, Socialism and all other isms—except true Americanism!

References: A—THE ROAD AHEAD, page 102;
B—page 100.

C—House Un - American Activities Committee report, July 21, 1947 page 90; D—pages 80-91.

E—THE RED NETWORK by Ellis Dilling, pages 193-4.

F—THE DAILY WORKER, Communist newspaper, May 14, 1942.

References: G—See attached list of 17 subversive organizations.

H—Charleston, S. C., NEWS & COURIER, Nov. 17, 1953, page 8-B.

I—GUIDE TO SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS & PUBLICATIONS, House Un-Amer. Activities Com., Document No. 137, May 14, 1951.

J—California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1948.

Reference G: Subversive organizations with which Channing H. Tobias has been or is connected with according to reports by House Un-American Activities Committee and the Attorney-General: American League for Peace and Democracy, Council on African Affairs, Inc., Southern Conference for Human Welfare, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, "Protestant Digest," American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, National Committee to Win the Peace, People's Institute of Applied Religion, American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, New York State Conference on National Unity, All Harlem Youth Conference, American Committee to Save Refugees, American Council of Soviet Relations, National Committees to Abolish the Poll Tax, National Council of American Soviet Friendship, Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee, Sponsor, Philadelphia Stage for Action.

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May 21, 1954

Dear Mr. Williams:

Last Monday the Supreme Court of the United States pronounced its most important decision in more than a century. A unanimous judgment that racially segregated schools can have no place in American life rekindles hopes that the American promise of Equal Justice Under Law will be fulfilled for all our citizens.

The ruling was made upon cases brought on behalf of school children in Kansas, Delaware, Virginia, South Carolina and the nation's capitol by the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund. It climaxes four decades of unremitting effort on the part of this Association to right grievous wrongs through orderly court procedures proving the validity of Constitutional guarantees.

This has been a great victory. And yet the necessity to realize its promise is undiminished. The demands upon the N.A.A.C.P. have suddenly multiplied. The Supreme Court has ordered reargument on how and when segregation shall be abolished, with briefs due in less than five months. The new Magna Charta must be extended for the benefit of children in each of the seventeen States where laws compel grossly unequal school facilities.

It would be cruel if -- in the period of adjustment from deeply ingrained social practices to a new vision of tolerant democracy -- hundreds of thousands of youngsters continued to be denied the schooling advantages the Court has assured them in Constitutional principle. And it would be ironic if discriminations were to persist long after the Voice of America proudly announced a bright new emancipation to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Extremists have threatened short-sighted expedients to defy the high court by dissolution or transfer of school systems. Eternal vigilance, calm reason and good legal counsel will be needed more than ever in our soundest American traditions.

To meet these pressing needs without delay, the "Committee of 100" has pledged to gather the emergency sum of \$100,000 for the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund. May I count upon your tax-deductible contribution now, that we may assure continuity of victory in the realization of human rights.

Faithfully yours,

Harry Emerson Fodick

All contributions are deductible for U. S. Income Tax Purposes.

(THIS IS A REPLY TO THE LETTER ON THE REVERSE SIDE)

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June 3, 1954

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Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, D.D.
The "Committee of 100"
20 West 40th St., New York 18, N.Y.

75 YEARS
continuous service
1879-1954

Dear Mr. Fosdick:

I have read carefully your letter of May 21st requesting that I send you a contribution for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. You say \$ 100,000.00 is needed for their legal defense and educational needs. Since this letter bears your signature, I assume you dictated it. Your letter contains several false and mis-leading statements. You say:

"Hundreds of thousands of (negro) youngsters continue to be denied the schooling advantages the court has assured them in Constitutional principle."

I know from personal experience, that the practices and activities of the NAACP organization, of which Walter White is the head, are causing nothing but dissension throughout the South, and increasing the difficulties of both the negro and white people to solve their problems.

"The Committee of 100" instead of helping the negro race is making it more difficult for them to solve their local problems. It is creating a situation, in a lesser degree, that existed during the "Reconstruction" period (1866-76) You should read the late Claude Bower's book entitled: "The Tragic Era "

I have heard you preach many fine sermons over the radio when you were pastor of a wealthy New York City Church, located near the negro section of Harlem where relations between the negroes and whites are far worse than in any part of the South. I am wondering why you are showing more interest in solving the racial problems of the South, many miles away, than you are in solving them in your "home town." In my "home town" of Jacksonville, there are approximately 100,000 negroes (consisting of 40% of the total population of Jacksonville), and as large a percentage of colored children attend school as white children.

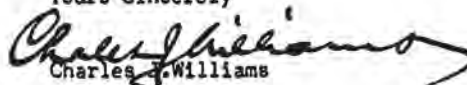
As much money has been spent during the last ten years, in the building of schools for the colored people, as for the white population (which means over 40% of the total investment in schools for colored people, yet the negroes only pay approximately 6% of the taxes) This same general situation is prevalent throughout the Deep South.

In looking over the list of sponsors of "The Committee of 100", I notice the name of the head of the "Socialist Party", and the names of several others who have been affiliated with communist organizations, and pressure groups, who are " far to the left."

It is disturbing to see a man of your talents and intelligence lending his influence to an organization that is making it so difficult for the good people of the white and negro races, in the South, to solve their own problems.

Yours sincerely

CJW/g


Charles J. Williams

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WHO'S WHO

Seventy-four of the 98 members of the "Committee of 100" shown on the foregoing letter are listed in Volumes 26 and 27 of the publication, "Who's Who In America".

Classified as to professions, with some listed in more than one category, these 74 are:

Clergymen:	31	Educators	22
By Denominations		By Positions	
Methodist	7	College Presidents	7
Congregationalist	5	Sociologists and Philosophers	5
Baptist	5	Others	10
Episcopalian	4	Writers (authors, editors, etc.)	17
Unitarian	4	Lawyers	4
Jewish	2	Socialist Party Leaders	3
Others	4	Others	15

"Who's Who In America" contains the following information, and additional details on activities may be ascertained by reference to Volumes 26 and 27.

Vol. 26 & 27, Who's Who, 1950-51, 1952-53.

1. WILLIAM MACDONOUGH AGAR, geologist, author; b. N. Y. city, 1894; Inst. geology, Yale, 1923-25; asst. prof., Columbia, 1928-35; U. S. Geo. Survey, 1942-45; gen. publicity (writing and radio) with Flight For Freedom, Inc., 1940-41; Chmn. Bd. of Freedom House; with dept. Publicity Information, U. N. since 1946; present acting director Spec. Servs. Division; author and lecturer, Democrat. Author *Catholicism and Progress of Science*.
2. ROGER NASH BALDWIN, political reformer; b. Mass., 1884; Inst. sociology, Wel. U., 1905-08; dir. Am. Civil Liberties Union, N. Y. C., 1917-50, serving as nat. chmn. since 1950. Mem. nat. Com. Urban League; chmn. of Bd. Int. League for Rights of Man; Treas. India League of Am.; Trustee, Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust; Instr. New School for Social Research, 1935-42; mem. Harvard Overseers Com. on Economics Dept., 1938-50. Mem. Am. Sociological Society, Am. Polit. Sci. Assn. Author: *Liberty under the Soviets*, 1932; also various pamphlets on Civil Liberties; Editor of *Kropotkin Revolutionary pamphlets*, 1933; *Civil Liberties and Industrial Conflict* (Harvard Godkins lectures), 1950.
3. TALLAH BANKHEAD, actress, b. Ala., 1908.
4. ROBBINS WOLCOTT BARSTOW, clergyman, b. Conn., 1890; cong'l. minister, pres. Hartford Sem. Foundation, 1939-44; dir. Commn. for World Council Service under Am. Com. for World Council of Chs., 1945-46; staff executive, Church World Service, Inc., 1946-50; exec. dir. central dept. Ecumenical Relations Natl. Council Churches for Christ in U. S. A. since 1950.
5. VAN WYCK BROOKS, author; b. N. J., 1886; with Century Co. Pub., 1916-18; Asso. Ed., The Freeman, 1920-24; mem. Am. Acad. Arts and Letters; Am. Philos. Soc., etc. Author: *The Malady of the Ideal* (1918); *The Pilgrimage of Henry James*, 1925; *The Confident Years* (1885-1915), 1931.
6. FRED LESLIE BROWNLEE, educator, b. Ohio, 1883; (Was cong'l. pastor from 1909-20); gen. sec. Am. Missionary Assn., N. Y., retired, now provost Flak U.; pres. LeMoyne Col., Memphis, 1940-42; assoc. So. Reg. Council; mem. race Dept. of Federal Council of Churches. Author: *New Day Ascending*.
7. THOBURN TAYLOR BRUMBAUGH, clergyman; b. Ohio, 1898; Ordained to ministry of Methodist Church, 1924; missionary to Japan.
8. TWILA LYTTON CAVERT (MRS. SAMEL MCRAE), educator; b. Ohio, 1898. co. chmn. Yenching U. (Peiping, China) Com., 1946; Conf. First Assembly, World Council Chs., Amsterdam, Holland, 1948; chmn. Internat. Conf. Church Women, World Council of Churches, Bearn, Holland, 1948. Director study on Life and Work of Women in Churches, 1946-48. Democrat. Mem. Dutch Reformed Ch.
9. ALLEN KNIGHT CHALMERS, prof., author; b. Cleveland, Ohio, 1897. Ordained ministry Congl. Ch., 1922; professor preaching and Applied Christianity, Boston University School of Theology since 1948. Member bd. dirs. exec. Com. Religion and Labor Foundation, Am. Civil Liberties Union, Nat. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, Fellowship of Reconciliation; co-chmn. Fair Employment Practice Council; Author: *They shall be Free*, 1951.
10. BERNARD CHANCELLOR CLAUSEN, clergyman; b. N. J., 1892. Ordained Bapt. ministry, 1917. Pastor Euclid Ave. Baptist Church, Cleveland Ohio, since 1944.
11. RUFUS EARLY CLEMENT, univ. pres.; b. Salisbury, N. C., 1900; pres. of Atlanta (Ga.) U. since 1937; N. E. A. delegate World Organization of Teaching Profession, 1949. Mem. exec. committee Southern Conference on Human Welfare; vice pres. Southern Conference Educational Fund; executive com., Southern Regional Council. United World Federalists (national advisory board). nat. assn. of Teachers in Colored Schs.
12. JAMES BRYANT CONANT, 23rd president of Harvard Univ.; b. Mass., 1893; mem. gen. adv. com. A. E. C. since 1947.
13. ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE, chemist; b. Chicago, Ill., 1894. Lecturer (on chemistry at Harvard) since 1931. Mem. Nat. Exec. Com., Socialist Party, 1932-37; candidate for senator, 1934, and other offices on various occasions. Fellow Am. Physical Soc.; mem. Am. Chem. Soc. Am. Assn. Sci. Workers. Socialist.
14. GEORGE SYLVESTER COUNTS, prof. edu.; b. Kan., 1889; prof. of edn., Teachers Coll., Columbia, since 1927. Editor of the *Social Frontier*, 1924-37;—Pres. Am. Fedn. of Teachers, 1939-42; mem. exec. com. of Nat. Com. on Education and Defense, 1940-42, Nat. Com. Civil Liberties Union since 1940; New York State Chairman American Labor Party, 1942-44. Author: *The Social Competition of Boards of Education*, 1927; *A Ford Crosses Soviet Russia*, 1930; *The Soviet Challenge to America*, 1931; *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?*, 1932; *America, Russia and the Communist Party* (with John L. Childs), 1942. Co-translator of *New Russia's Primer* (M. Ilin), 1931; *I Want To Be Like Stalin*, 1947; *The Country of the Blind—The Soviet System of Mind Control* (with N. Lodge), 1949.
15. HENRY MITT CRANE, clergyman, b. Ill., 1890. Ordained Meth. ministry, 1916; (pastor of) central Meth. Ch.; Detroit, Mich., since 1938. Del. to Uniting Conf. of Meth. Ch., 1939, and to Gen. Conf. of Metho. Ch., 1940, 44, 48, Del. to World Council of Chs., Amsterdam, 1948.
16. JOHN WARREN DAVIS, coll. pres.; b. Milledgeville, Ga., 1888; pres. W. Va. State College since 1919. mem. Nat. Edn. Assn. for Defense of Democracy Through Edn., since 1946; chmn. since 1950. Member NEA, National Freedom Day Assn. (v. p. since 1948). Republican. Baptist.
17. ALBERT EDWARD DAY, clergyman; b. Ohio. Ordained ministry M. E. Ch., 1904; (pastor of) Mount Vernon Christ Ch., Pittsburgh, Pa., 1923-47, and since January, 1948; lecturer Earl Foundation Pacific School of Religion, 1947; vice pres. Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, 1942-44 (Chmn. social Service Comm., 1938-37), dir. of New Life Movement of Methodist Ch. in Am., 1945. Founder Disciplined Order of Christ, 1946; member Commn. on Basis of a just and Durable Peace, 1943; chmn. Nat. Conference on Church and War, 1949-50. Mem. California Writers Guild. Editor *New Life Magazine*, 1945-47. Chosen one of six leading preachers of Am. by Christian Century poll, 1940.
18. JAMES FRANK DORIE, writer, univ. prof.; b. Texas, 1888. Prof. of English (U. of Tex.), 1933-47; (leave of absence 1937-39 and at intervals since.)
19. DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER, author, b. Kan. 1879. Studied and traveled extensively in Europe.
20. HARRY EMERSON FORDICK, clergyman; b. Buffalo, N. Y., 1878. Ordained Bapt. ministry, 1903; Instr. homiletics, 1909-16, prof. practical theol., 1915-46. Union Theol. Sem.; pastor emeritus Riverside Church, N. Y.
21. HARRY DAVID GIDEONSK, coll. pres.; b. Rotterdam, The Netherlands, 1901; brought to U. S., 1904. Pres. Brooklyn College of the City of New York since 1939. Exec. v. p. Economists Nat. Committee on Monetary Policy, 1937-46; chmn. bd. dirs. Freedom House since 1942; chmn. Youth Division Committee of Nat. Social Welfare Assembly, 1946-48; member National Commn. on Educational, Scientific and Cultural Cooperation, 1946.
22. JOSEPH F. GUFFEY, ex-senator; b. Pa., 1875. Ex-pres. Guffey-Gillespie Oil Co., Atlantic Gulf Co., Columbia Syndicate, U. S. Senator from Pa. for term 1935-41; re-elected for second term.
23. HERMAN HALPERIN, rabbi, coll. lecturer; b. N. J., 1899. Ordained to the ministry of the Jewish ch., 1922; rabbi, Tree of Life Congregation Pittsburgh, Pa., since 1922.
24. S. RALPH HARLOW, educator; b. Boston, Mass., 1886. Ordained ministry Congl. Ch., 1912. Prof. religion and social ethics, Smith Coll., Mass., since 1923. Nat. Com. of Peaceways, Inc.; dir. Nat.

- Assoc. for Advancement of Colored People; dir. Postwar World Council; mem. executive council Am. Palestine Com.; mem. academic Council Nat. Fedn. Council Liberties; dir. Friends Am. Studies, Greece, Mem. Nat. Council League for Ind. Democracy, (Member of) Am. Fedn. of Teachers.
26. EARL G. HARRISON, lawyer; b. Phila., 1899. Admitted to Pa. bar, 1922; prof. and dean (U. of Pa. Law School), 1945-48, former vice pres. the univ. Former firm of Schneider, Harrison, Segal and Lewis since 1948; (director of) Samuel S. Fels Fund, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
27. HORNELL NORRIS HART, sociologist; b. St. Paul, Minn., 1888. Prof. of sociology, Duke Univ., since 1938.
28. ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS, lawyer, b. N. Y. 1881. Admitted to N. Y. bar, 1906, and began practice in N. Y. City. Active in many cases involving civil liberties; in opening up closed town during coal strike in Pa., 1922; Scopes case in Tenn., 1925; Sweet case, Detroit, involving Negro segregation, 1925; conducted investigation (1937) of civil liberties in Puerto Rico. Chmn. Progressive Party State campaign, N. Y., 1924; nat. dir. Am. Civil Liberties Union. Jewish religion.
29. JAMES GUTHERIN HELLER, composer, rabbi; b. New Orleans, La., 1892; (rabbi of) Isaac M. Wise Temple, Cincinnati, since 1920. Prof. musicology, Cincinnati Conservatory of Music, since 1925.
40. HARRISON STREETER HIRSH, mfr., author; b. Phila., 1867; Dir. Charles C. Hires Co., since 1913.
41. BISHOP HENRY WISE HOBSON, clergyman; b. Denver, Colo., 1891. Priest, 1920, P. E. Ch.; consecrated bishop P. E. Ch., 1920. Mem. Nat. council P. E. Church, 1927-48, since 1950. Pres. bd. trustees, Phillips Acad., since 1947. Head Fight for Freedom Com. Bishop (of Diocese of Southern Ohio) since 1951.
42. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, clergyman; b. Phila., 1879. Ordained (Unitarian) 1904; pastor ch. of the Messiah, New York (now called The Community Ch. of N. Y.), 1907-48. v. p. Nat. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People since 1909; dir. Am. Civil Liberties Union since 1917, chairman of the board since 1928; pres. All World Gandhi Fellowship since 1929; pres. War Resisters League, 1929-39. Won Annual Gethsemane medal for service of Jews, 1935. Left Unitarianism, became Ind., 1918. Traveled in England, Europe, Russia, Near and Far East, 7 times, 1914-28.
43. SIDNEY HOOK, univ. prof.; b. N. Y. City, 1902. Asso. prof. and chmn. of dept. of philosophy (Washington Bureau Coll., N. Y. Univ.), 1934-37, prof. since 1939, head dept. philosophy Grad. Sch., N. Y. U., 1948. Organizer conf. on Methods in Philosophy and Science; (member) International Committee for Academic Freedom. Author: Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx, 1934; from Hegel to Marx, 1936.
44. PAUL HUTCHINSON, editor, author; b. N. J., 1890; mgn. editor The Christian Century, Chicago, 1924; editor, 1947.
45. MRS. HENRY A. INGRAHAM (Mary Shotwell), educator; b. Brooklyn, N. Y., 1887. Pres. Nat. Board YWCA, 1940-48. Trustee Brooklyn Coll. since 1936, chmn. since 1945. Chmn. Nat. Social Welfare Assembly since 1949; past mem. Human Relations Comm. of the Protestant Council. Republican. Writer on edu. and social work.
46. CHARLES SPURGEON JOHNSON, educator; b. Bristol, Va., 1872. Dir. dept. of social science, Phila. U., 1928-47, pres. since 1946. Mem. exec. com. Southern Comm. on Study of Lynching, Southern Social Sci. mem. exec. com., Southern Policy Com.
49. MORDECAI W. JOHNSON, univ. pres.; b. Paris, Tenn., 1890; Ordained Bapt. ministry, 1916; pres. Howard U. since 1926. Nat. adv. council on edu., Nat. Youth comm.
50. HORACE M. KALLEN, educator; b. Bismarck, Germany, 1887; brought to America, 1887. Prof. The New School for Social Research, N. Y. Mem. Am. Jewish Congress.
52. HELEN KELLER, author; b. Ala., 1880; deaf and blind since age of 19 mos. as result of illness. Advisory boards for various societies for blind and deaf. Home: Westport, Conn.
53. PAUL UNDERWOOD KELLOGG, editor; b. Mich., 1878. Editor The Survey, since 1912. Mem. bd. Am. Union for Concerted Peace Effort, 1939; mem. Good Neighbor Com. on the Empire and the Community, 1939; pres. Nat. conf. of Social Work, 1939; mem. board Com. on Dem. Foreign policy in 1942.
54. FRANK KINGDON, columnist, author, lecturer; b. London, England, 1894. Came to U. S., 1912. Naturalized, 1918. Ordained Methodist ministry, 1912. Mem. Newark Conf. since 1928; chmn. N. Y. Chapter Com. to Defend America by Aiding the Allies; chmn. Fight for Freedom Com., 1940-41. Author: That Man in the White House, 1944; An Uncommon Man: Or Henry Wallace and 80 Million Jobs, 1945. News analyst.
55. FRED A. KIRCHWEY, editor; with The Nation since 1918, editor since 1922, editor and publisher since 1927.
56. JOHN HOWLAND LATHEROP, clergyman; b. Mich., 1880; ordained Unitarian ministry, 1905; (minister) First Unitarian Congl. Church (Church of the Savior), Brooklyn, since 1911. Dir. Internat. Assn. for Liberal Christian Christianity and Religious Freedom. (officer). American Committee on Religious Rights and Minorities (chmn.) Fed. Council Chs., Nat. Peace Conf.; v. p. Library assoc. of Brooklyn Coll., mem. Governor's Com. on Discrimination in Employment, Visited Russia and Oxford, 1937. Dir. Ecumenical Soc. World Alliance for International Friendship through Religion; mem. Adv. bd. India League of Am., dir. Am. Relief for Czechoslovakia.
57. BISHOP WILLIAM APPLETON LAWRENCE, bishop; b. Cambridge, Mass., 1889. Ordained ministry Episcopal Ch., 1914; consecrated bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Western Mass., 1937. Chmn. Nat. Comm. of Protestant Episcopal Ch. on Conscientious Objectors, 1943.
58. WALTER EARL LEDDEN, Methodist bishop; b. N. J., 1888. Ordained ministry M. E. Church, 1914. Elected bishop, 1914, Syracuse Area. Mem. Exec. Com. Nat. Council of Churches.
59. WALTER EARL LEDDEN, Methodist bishop; b. N. J., 1888. Ordained ministry Presbyterian Church, 1916, transferred to Congregational Church, 1920; contributing editor Federal Council Bulletin since 1930.
60. ALFRED BAKER LEWIS, insurance; b. Phila., Pa., 1897. Sec. Socialist Party of Mass., 1924-40; vice President Union Casualty Co. since 1944. president world. Pres. Bd. directors League for Industrial Democracy, National Association Advancement Colored People; Conn. Branch, Americans for Democratic Action. Mem. Am. Federation Teachers (AFL), honorary member United Transport Service Employees (CIO), mem. Nat. exec. com. Socialist Party, 1930-40. Candidate on Dem. ticket for Conn. legislature, 1940. Author.
61. HOWARD LINDSAY, playwright, producer, actor, b. N. Y. 1889.
62. ALAIN LEROY LOCKE, prof. philosophy; b. Phila., Pa., 1886. Prof. philosophy (Howard Univ.) since 1917. Contribution editor, Survey Graphic.
63. ARCHIBALD MACLEISH, poet, b. Glencoe, Ill., 1892. Written many poems. Boylston professor Harvard since 1948.
64. ROBERT JAMES MCGRACKEN, clergyman; b. Scotland, 1904. Moved to Can., 1928, to U. S., 1946. Pastor Riverside Ch., N. Y. City since 1946.
65. KARL AUGUSTUS MENNINGER, psychiatrist; b. Kan., 1893. Bd. trustees Menninger Foundation, also general director educational department. (member) Am. Civil Liberties Union, Nat. Assn. Advancement Colored People, Nat. Citizens Comm. for Publ. Schs.
67. CARL MURPHY, journalist; b. Baltimore, Md., 1889. Editor Afro-Am. Newspaper since 1915, pres. of corp. since 1922.
68. HAROLD ELLIOTT NICELY, clergyman, b. Beirut, Syria, 1909 (of U. S. parents). Ordained to ministry Presby. Ch., 1924; (pastor) Drick Presby. Ch., Rochester, since 1935.
67. REINHOLD NIEBUHR, clergyman; b. Mo., 1892. Ordained ministry Evang. Synod of North America, 1916; prof. Applied Christianity (at Union Theol. Seminary) since 1927.
71. BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM, bishop; b. Calif., 1891. Ordained to Methodist Episcopal ministry, 1915; elected bishop of Methodist Church, 1934, New York Area since 1944. Mem. Am. Delegation to Russia, 1926; president Fed. Council of Churches of Christ in America, member Am. Acad. Politt. and Social Science, Nat. Economic League. Author Russian Impressions 1927; Personalities in Social Reform, 1949. Contr. on social, internat., indus., and religious subjects.
72. BISHOP EDWARD L. PARSONS, bishop; b. N. Y., N. Y., 1858. Priest, 1895, P. E. Ch., consecrated bishop, 1919, (of California, 1924); retired, 1941. Nat. vice chmn. Am. Civil Liberties Union; pres. Episcopal League for Social Action, Democrat.
74. PALFREY PERKINS, clergyman; b. Mass., 1883, ordained Unitarian ministry, 1909. (pastor) Kings Chapel, Boston, since 1935. Republican.
75. RALPH HARTON PERRY, univ. prof., b. Vt., 1876. Prof. philosophy (Harvard U.) 1913-48, prof. emeritus since 1946. Author numerous books since 1905.
78. EDWIN MCNEIL POTEAT, clergyman, b. Conn., 1892. Ordained to ministry of Baptist Ch.; minister Pullen Memorial Bapt. Ch., Raleigh, N. C., since 1948.
72. GORDON POTEAT, minister; b. Conn. 1891. Ordained to ministry of Bapt. Ch., 1914; now minister Tourist Ch. (Interdenom.), Daytona Beach.
80. A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH, labor leader; b. Fla., 1889. Organized brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL; organizer, dir. of March on Washington movement which caused Pres. Roosevelt to issue Com. on Fair Empl. Practice, 1941.
91. FREDERICK E. REISSIG, clergyman; b. N. Y., 1893. (Pastor) Remondeth Loth. Ch., Rochester, N. Y., 1923-43; exec. sec. Washington (D. C.) Fedn. Chs. since 1942.
88. GEORGE N. RHUSTER, author, educator; b. Wis., 1894. Contrib. editor (The Commonwealth); pres. of Hunter Coll., N. Y., since 1940.
84. GUY EMERY SHIPPLER, clergyman, editor; b. N. Y., 1891. Priest, 1911, P. E. Church, mgn. editor the Churchman, 1917-22, edit. chief since 1923; mem. Nat. Com. Church League for Industrial Democracy, 1940-44; State com. N. J. Civil Liberties Union; Nat. Com. Against Persecution of the Jews; member N. Y. State Committee for Equality in Education; mem. executive board and treas. Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, 1939-42; v. chmn. exec. com. Am. Friends of Spanish Democracy, 1937-39.
85. JAMES T. SHOTWELL, prof. emeritus of History of Int. Rel. at Columbia U. since 1942, b. Can. 1874.
75. MRS. HARPER SIBLEY (GEORGIANA PARR), b. N. H., 1897; pres. United Council Church Women, 1946-50; mem. Nat. Council of Protestant Epil. Ch., 1946-52.
88. LILLIAN SMITH, author, b. Fla., 1897. Co-editor South Today, 1936-45. Mem. Nat. Board, Am. Civil Liberties Union and Americans for Democratic Action, Methodist Author: Strangers Fruit, 1944; Killers of the Dream, 1949.
89. ARTHUR B. SPINGARN, lawyer, b. N. Y. City, 1878. Admitted N. Y. State bar, 1900, and practiced N. Y. City since 1900. Pres. NAACP since 1940. Author: Laws Relating to Sex Morality in N. Y. Contrib. numerous articles and pamphlets on the Negro to nat. mags.
90. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, clergyman, educationist; b. N. Y., 1874. Traveled around world. Pres. emeritus Stokes Foundation (for edul work among Negroes).
91. NORMAN MATTOON THOMAS; b. Ohio, 1884. Ordained ministry Presby. Ch., 1911; demitted ministry, 1931. Candidate on Socialist ticket for governor of N. Y., 1924, twice for mayor of New York City, and for President of U. S., 1928, 32, 36, 40, 44, 48.
12. CHANNING REGGIE TORIAS, dir. Phelps-Stokes Fund; b. Ga., 1922. Sec. Nat. Council (Student Dept.), YMCA, 1911-23, ar. sec. Colored Dept. of Nat. Council, N. Y. C., 1929-48. Apprd. Pres. President's Com. on Civil Rights, 1948; apprd. dir. Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1946. Received Spingarn medal from NAACP, 1948.
53. WILLIAM H. VANDERBILT, b. N. Y., 1891; ex-gov. of R. I. (1899-40.)
94. BRUNO WALTER, orchestra cond. ; b. Berlin, German, 1876.
97. JUSTICE JAMES H. WOLFE, judge; b. Pa., 1884. Admitted Utah bar, 1910. Justice Supreme Court of Utah since 1935; chief justice 1943-44, 1941-55. Sec. National Lawyers Guild (v. p.). Democrat. Frequent contrib. to The Survey.

105-32909-11

Monday, August 22, 1955

Novel View of Enforced Integration

The optimistic, affirmative, conciliatory point of view expressed by ZORA NEALE HURSTON, the Negro author, in the article republished at the bottom of this page is one that deserves wide circulation. We commend Miss Hurston's sentiments to some of our colored friends.

No doubt she is being bombarded already with bandanna handkerchiefs from members of the NAACP. She anticipates this charge of being a "handkerchief head" in her letter to the Orlando paper, and is ready for it.

Some 15 years ago, this same distinguished Negro novelist and playwright, who is a graduate of Barnard College and the holder of both ROSENWALD and GUGGENHEIM fellowships, wrote concerning her college days in the 1920's:

I saw that what was being written by Negro authors was all on the same theme—the race problem and saturated with our sorrows. By the time I graduated from college, I had sensed the falsity of the picture, because I did not find that sorrow. We talk about the race problem a great deal, but go on living and laughing and striving like everybody else. So I saw that what was being written and declaimed was a pose. A Negro writer and speaker was supposed to say those things. It has such a definite pattern as to become approxi-

mately folklore. So I made up my mind to write about my people as they are, and not to use the traditional lay figures.

It is evident from the foregoing that Miss Hurston is an extraordinarily courageous woman, and that she does her own thinking. It is not particularly surprising, then, to find her writing, "I regard the ruling of the United States Supreme Court [outlawing segregation in the public schools] as insulting rather than honoring my race.

She gets no satisfaction, she says, from a "court order for somebody to associate with me who does not wish me to be near them." She sees no reason why Negroes should insist on going to school with white children, if facilities in the colored schools are equally good. She "can see no tragedy in being too dark to be invited to a white school social affair."

Many highly cultivated Negroes disagree sincerely with Miss Hurston in the foregoing. Others agree with her, but are afraid to say so, for fear of bringing down upon their heads a barrage from the NAACP. At all events, this intelligent and able Negro author is to be thanked for her willingness to say what she thinks, irrespective of the consequences. There are too few like her—in both races.

It is our sincere belief that the feeling of this noted Negro authoress is shared by millions of other fine people, both Negro and white, in this country, especially in the South. For this reason we are reproducing this article for distribution to those who may not have seen it.

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A Negro Deplores the Segregation Decision

. Zora Neale Hurston, in the Orlando (Fla.) Sentinel

The following comments by Zora Neale Hurston, noted Negro author, appeared in a letter which she wrote to the Sentinel.

I PROMISED GOD and some other responsible characters, including a bunch of bishops, that I was not going to part my lips concerning the United States Supreme Court decision on ending segregation in the public schools of the South. But since a lot of time has passed and no one seems to touch on what to me appears to be the most important point in the hassle, I break my silence just this once. Consider me as just thinking out loud.

The whole matter revolves around the self-respect of my people. How much satisfaction can I get from a court order for somebody to associate with me who does not wish me near them? The American Indian has never been spoken of as a minority and chiefly because there is no whine in the Indian. Certainly he fought, and valiantly for his lands, and rightfully so, but it is inconceivable of an Indian to seek forcible association with anyone. His well-known pride and self-respect would save him from that. I take the Indian position.

NOW A GREAT CLAMOR will arise in certain quarters that I seek to deny the Negro children of the South their rights, and therefore I am one of those "handkerchief-head niggers" who bow low before the white man and sell out my own people out of cowardice. However, an analytical glance will show that that is not the case.

If there are not adequate Negro schools in Florida, and there is some residual, some inherent and unchangeable quality in white schools, impossible to duplicate anywhere else, then I am the first to insist that Negro children of Florida be allowed to share this boon. But if there are adequate Negro schools and prepared instructors and instructions, then there is nothing different except the presence of white people.

For this reason, I regard the ruling of the United States Supreme Court as insulting rather than honoring my race. Since the days of the never-to-be-sufficiently-deplored Reconstruction, there has been current the belief that there is no greater delight to Negroes than physical association with whites. The doctrine of the white mare. Those familiar with the habits of mules are aware that any mule, if not restrained, will automatically follow a white mare. Dishonest mule-traders made money out of this knowledge in the old days.

LEAD A WHITE MARE along a country road and slyly open the gate and the

mules in the lot would run out and follow this mare. This ruling being conceived and brought forth in a sly political medium



Zora Neale Hurston

with eyes on '56, and brought forth in the same spirit and for the same purpose, it is clear that they have taken the old notion to heart and acted upon it. It is a cunning opening of the barnyard gate with the white mare ambling past. We are expected to hasten pell-mell after her.

It is most astonishing that this should be tried just when the nation is exerting itself to shake off the evils of Communist penetration. It is to be recalled that Moscow, being made aware of this folk belief, made it the main plank in their campaign to win the American Negro from the 1920's on. It was the come-on stuff. Join the party and get yourself a white wife or husband. To supply the expected demand, the party had scraped up this-and-that off of park benches and skid rows and held them in stock for us. The highest types of Negroes were held to be just panting to get hold of one of these objects. Seeing how flat that program fell, it is astonishing that it would be so soon revived. Politics does indeed make strange bedfellows.

BUT THE SOUTH had better beware in another direction. While it is being frantic over the segregation ruling, it had better keep its eyes open for more important things. One instance of government by fiat has been rammed down its throat. It is possible that the end of segre-

gation is not here and never meant to be here at present, but the attention of the South directed on what was calculated to keep us busy while more ominous things were brought to pass. The stubborn South and the Midwest kept this nation from being dragged farther to the left than it was during the New Deal.

But what if it is contemplated to do away with the two-party system and arrive at government by administrative decree? No questions allowed and no information given out from the administrative department? We could get more rulings on the same subject and more far-reaching any day. It pays to weigh every saying and action, however trivial, as indicating a trend.

In the ruling on segregation, the unsuspecting nation might have witnessed a trial balloon. A relatively safe one, since it is sectional and on a matter not likely to arouse other sections of the nation to the support of the South. If it goes off fairly well, a precedent has been established. Government by fiat can replace the Constitution. You don't have to credit me with too much intelligence and penetration, just so you watch carefully and think.

MEANWHILE, PERSONALLY, I am not delighted. I am not persuaded and elevated by the white mare technique. Negro schools in the State are in very good shape and on the improve. We are fortunate in having Dr. D. E. Williams as head and driving force of Negro instruction. Dr. Williams is relentless in his drive to improve both physical equipment and teacher quality. He has accomplished wonders in the 20 years past and it is to be expected that he will double that in the future.

It is well known that I have no sympathy nor respect for the "tragedy of color" school of thought among us, whose fountain-head is the pressure group concerned in this court ruling. I can see no tragedy in being too dark to be invited to a white school social affair. The Supreme Court would have pleased me more if they had concerned themselves about enforcing the compulsory education provisions for Negroes in the South as is done for white children. The next 10 years would be better spent in appointing truant officers and looking after conditions in the homes from which the children come. Use to the limit what we already have.

Them's my sentiments and I am sticking by them. Growth from within. Ethical and cultural desegregation. It is a contradiction in terms to scream race pride and equality while at the same time spurning Negro teachers and self-association. That old white mare business can go racking on down the road for all I care.

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Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 84th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

A Plan for Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 9, 1955

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, the people of Virginia are now in great distress because of the recent deplorable ruling of the Supreme Court of the United States declaring segregation in the schools unconstitutional. As stated before, this ruling is shocking and contrary to all legal precedent. Our people in Virginia are now facing a crisis. It is necessary that the issue be faced forthrightly and a decision be made by our people.

In an endeavor to acquaint the public with the problem and to preserve for our people their individual liberties which are being gradually taken from them by a grasping arm of the Federal Government, an organization has been formed in Virginia known as the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties. Only yesterday this organization issued a forthright statement, which I herewith include with my remarks and commend it to the people of Virginia:

A PLAN FOR VIRGINIA

The Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties has, since its organization last fall, been giving itself to a study of the questions posed for Virginia by the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954. It was not surprised by the implementing decision handed down on May 31, 1955. It did not anticipate that a court, composed of such judges as now constitute the Supreme Court of the United States, would in any respect weaken in its determination to force upon the people of Virginia and the South the unsupported views of the socialistic and radical sociologists whose opinions it has accepted as constitutional doctrine.

The Defenders are amazed that there be those in our midst who would lull our people into a false sense of security by assuring them that under these decisions we have all the time we want in which to chart our course. The Court has not given that time. It requires that in "good faith" we "make a prompt and reasonable start" toward mixing the races in our schools. If we make that start and thus begin the process of mongrelization, there is then the possibility that we will be given additional time to complete the process, but only in the event we do so "at the earliest practicable date." If this were not clear enough to satisfy these false prophets that time, in the opinion of the

Court, is of the essence in this matter, the Court emphasizes that fact by saying that schools must be mixed "with all deliberate speed."

There be those who, after a year of talk, still advocate that nothing now be done, but that we take our time in an endeavor to "hammer out" some plan of procedure unknown to them and to us. We call upon such persons, and particularly any such who have been honored by election to the general assembly, to meet their responsibility and to state in frankness and candor to the people of Virginia what they have to offer.

Unless something be done, and unless something be done now, integration will begin in Virginia, and, once begun, it, like every other vile pestilence, will spread to the point where it has covered the whole body politic. Whether it come in our day, our children will see the death of our Anglo-Saxon civilization.

The Commonwealth of Virginia has a right now to expect of every one of her sons and daughters who may have any proposal to make by which we can preserve our way of life that he speak. Procrastination is not only the thief of time; in this instance, procrastination will be the thief of our civilization.

The Defenders have certain broad proposals to make to the people of Virginia. They do not make them on the spur of the moment. They make them after long study and after consultation with very many persons both within and without the State of Virginia.

1. We recommend to His Excellency the Governor that he immediately call a special session of the general assembly. That session should begin the process of amending our State constitution, and it should adopt certain needed legislation. That session should be held not later than the middle of July. If we are to amend our constitution through the plan that permits the people of Virginia to vote on the amendments (and this matter is too important to deal with otherwise), the initial step should be taken by the general assembly not later than the 1st of August of this year. Otherwise, notice of the proposed amendments cannot be published in sufficient time to permit the general assembly at its regular 1956 session to deal with the matter and to permit the people to vote next year. Unless this initial action is taken by the 1st of August, we cannot amend the constitution by the procedure which gives the people a right to pass on the proposals until 1958. That would mean a delay of three school sessions. This matter does not permit of such delay. If other considerations did not require immediate action, the situation in Prince Edward County demands it. The people of that county will next year educate their children without help from the State or the locality. They will, in addition, pay their full State taxes. Tax money paid by them will go to help support the public schools in other localities. It is not right that a people who have so courageously

fought the battle for the whole State should thus be penalized and oppressed by the Commonwealth of Virginia.

2. We call upon the general assembly to initiate procedures to amend section 129 of the constitution so as expressly to give to the general assembly the power to adopt such laws in relation to schools as the welfare of this people requires. That section and the provision for segregated schools are each a part of chapter IX of our constitution. We are aware that there are those who are of the opinion that the invalidation of the segregated-school provision by the Supreme Court of the United States has wiped out of our State constitution the whole of chapter IX. Indeed, as we read the decision of the Circuit Court of Hanover County rendered last week in the Hanover School Board case, that is the view of the great constitutional student who sits on that bench before which Patrick Henry was accustomed to appear. There are others who take a different position. This question is too important to leave to any uncertainty, and as matters now stand certainly cannot without such amendment be attained until the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia has ruled on the question.

3. We call upon the general assembly to initiate procedures to amend sections 134 and 141 of chapter IX of the Constitution, so as to remove any doubt that, in case of necessity, State and local moneys may be used to pay the tuition and other school expenses in private schools, of children of localities in which it becomes necessary, as in Prince Edward, to close the public schools. We do not believe there is a self-respecting man in the State of Virginia who would advocate that people so situated should be relegated to educate their children as best they can, and at the same time be compelled to pay taxes to assist in the education of children of other areas.

4. We call upon the general assembly to take out of our law all mention of compulsory education. We have yet to hear one single man advocate that compulsory education be retained in Virginia, and that any man be prosecuted and convicted who may elect to hold his child out of school rather than subject him to the degrading influences of an integrated school. If there be such a man in Virginia, particularly if there be such a man in public life, honesty and candor compel him so to state, and especially if there be one who is now a candidate for the general assembly, he will, if he be honest, so state to the people whose support he seeks.

5. We call upon the general assembly to enact such laws as may be needed to prevent the expenditure of \$1 of public moneys, State or local, in the support and maintenance of any racially mixed public school. The Supreme Court of the United States has the power perchance to prevent us spending our money as we see fit, but the Supreme Court of the United States can scarcely be so oblivious to the Constitution which governs it as to attempt to compel a State to levy taxes and to expend tax money for a purpose for which that State is not willing to tax

its people or to make any appropriation. The people of this commonwealth are unalterably opposed to integration. That being our position, then as self-respecting men and women, our course is determined. It demands, in self-respect, that we refuse to give any support to any integrated public school. Integration, like cancer, cannot be contained and limited to one isolated spot. If it exists, it spreads until it kills the whole.

6. We call upon the general assembly to adopt such laws as may be required to make public moneys available to meet the private-school expenses of children of those localities in which the closing of public schools may be compelled. Again, we cite the present situation in Prince Edward County, a situation that may shortly exist in other localities. We point to the rank injustice of subjecting those people to the necessity of educating their children out of private funds, and at the same time compelling them to pay taxes to help the more fortunate areas of the State meet their public-school expenses.

7. We pledge to His Excellency the Governor, to the general assembly, and to the people of Virginia our support of this program, or, if someone can advance a better, which will also preserve education in Virginia and which will prevent the mixing of the races, we will give our support to it.

8. We call upon all those who are candidates for the general assembly—Democrats, Republicans and Independents—to state openly, frankly and fearlessly what, if anything, they have to propose, and whether they can be relied upon to give their full support to a program that will prevent integration in Virginia public schools. There may be a time when a candidate is justified in indulging in political trimming in order to obtain a seat in the general assembly. Upon that we express no opinion. But we do assert, that in this emergency, no honest person has the right to seek that high office without frankly telling those whom he hopes to represent what may be his position. To act otherwise will be the height of personal, political, and moral cowardice.

9. Too long have many of those who represent us in the halls of Congress and in the general assembly remained silent. Some have spoken out frankly and have told the people of Virginia that in which they believe. We call upon those who have been honored by the people of Virginia and the localities with public office, elective or appointive, from United States Senators down, now to give their advice to the people of Virginia in a forthright manner and to meet the responsibilities of the leadership to which they have been chosen by assisting to guide us along a road that will preserve our race.

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We do not consider that these proposals mean death to public schools. We think that the only hope of public schools lies in their adoption. Those who talk of preserving our public-school system know not of what they speak. Our public-school system—that system which we have known for many years in Virginia, which has been so beneficial to white persons and which rescued the Negro out of illiteracy—cannot be preserved. The United States Supreme Court has killed it for years to come, and it will remain dead until such time as the American people may by constitutional processes correct the error of that Court, or the personnel of the Court may be changed to include those who recognize that the judicial power may not rightfully be used to amend the Constitution to make it conform to that which the Court may think it should be.

No system of public schools not approved of by the people can exist. Virginians want nothing of an integrated public-school system. Our white citizens who have paid the greater part of the taxes which have educated both white and Negro children will not submit to the enormous cost of maintaining schools to which they are not willing to subject their children.

Only 1 of 2 public-school systems can now exist. Each is novel and new to Virginia. The one is an integrated public-school system. That system the people of Virginia will not support. The other is a segregated public-school system—segregated not as a matter of law and by State compulsion, but segregated by the good sense of our people, white and black.

If it be said that the NAACP will not consent to the maintenance of the latter, but will excite some ill-advised Negroes to apply for admission to the white schools, and thereby cause the school to be closed, or that one of that pitiful little group of white persons who fraternize with the NAACP will incite our country seeking its admission to the Negro school and thereby cause the school to close, we admit that possibility. Virginians do not choose, however, to be ruled by such elements. If that happens those schools will close. They will regret that the Negroes for whom they have done much will no longer receive their help, but that will be at the wish of their leaders. We will care for our own and they will care as best they can for theirs, each assisted by the same help from public funds to the extent that help is sought and within the limits of available funds. We do not believe many schools will close before our Negro citizens, fine as most of them are, will see to it that their people throw off the leadership of these radicals who have done so much to destroy good race relations, and together we can put our educational sys-

tem on a firm and lasting basis. If our belief in that respect be not sustained we will put other schools for our children on a firm and lasting basis and let the Negroes do with theirs as they will.

We are not unmindful of the ultimatum thrown down to the people of Virginia at a radio forum held in Richmond on May 17, 1955, by one of the chief Virginia counsel of the NAACP, who in an unguided moment cried out: "Like it or not, your schools will be integrated." Virginians are not ready to accept that dictation.

We have heard of no specific proposal that would look to integration in Virginia. We hope we hear of none. Should one be forthcoming which would propose that a start be made on the road to integration without it having first received approval of all governing bodies of the locality affected, both State and local, and also approval by the people at the ballot box, we would know of no way to characterize it save by the use of such a word as dastardly. We do not believe our people, or any segment of them, is ready to condemn their children to a complete socialization of the races. We do most solemnly assert that the man who would advocate that that be permitted without first giving the people an opportunity in solemn vote to express their views is entitled to no respect and to no support from the people of Virginia.

We realize that there are those timid souls among us who will say that we advocate an extreme program. We have no fear of adjectives. We are confronted by an extreme emergency. We have been served with a decision so extreme that it has abandoned all rules of constitutional interpretation; it has denied the validity of the views held for 175 years by the American people; it has accepted as our fundamental law not the Constitution adopted by this people, but the views of foreign and radical sociologists which have nothing to suggest them other than the opinions of the authors—men who would mix the races in all features of life. To attempt to compromise between the segregated school and the integrated school, is not to compromise. It is to accept the integrated school. That we are not willing to do.

We call upon all the good people of the State of Virginia who would protect their children and their children's children from the deteriorating and deadly effects of integration to bestir themselves, to join with us, and to help in this our day to protect that pure way of life which our fathers preserved for us, and preserved it when they were in a situation nowhere nearly so strong as we, and when they were threatened with forces equally as destructive as those which now seek to encompass us.

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"Stand Up and Be Counted"

THE policy of delay of Virginia's Commission on De-segregation seems like the old wishful principle that if we pay no attention to something unpleasant maybe it will go away. As the court's edict demanded "deliberate speed" in de-segregating schools, the postponement of action for a year clearly defies the intent of the court's edict; as the NAACP has stressed its intention to petition for immediate action, the delay seems also to defy reality. It is not so much that importunate action is required as that some clarity of purpose needs to be defined for the people of Virginia.

Oliver Hill, a Richmond representative of the NAACP, has voiced the hope that "some new leadership" would emerge "to prepare the way for the acceptance of a new era of enlightenment." According to his viewpoint, and according to the abstractions of humanity, he is entirely right in regarding a de-segregated school system as "an era of enlightenment." Speaking from his convictions, Mr. Hill believes the voices of constructive leadership "have been drowned out by the blatant diatribes of the same old crowds of die-hards." Certainly the voices of governmental leadership have been muffled to the point of muteness. But I do not think they have been drowned out by the die-hard's diatribes: I think it is the clammy silence of indecision. It is time that the silence was broken.

In Prince Edward County, where the axe first fell, the white people were in no position to inaugurate an undefined delaying action if their intention was to continue segregated

schools. The hour of decision was upon them and, with no guidance at state-level, they acted. This is not to say that their action was wise, just or practical—or not—but it represented the courage of a conviction. The conviction is based upon a belief that integrated schools mark the beginning of the breakdown of the two parallel societies, and a determination to maintain the separate societies of white and colored. Since there can be little doubt that the Governor's Commission, as well as the whole legislature, are likewise dedicated to the two cultures within the matrix of the whole, I do not perceive what can be gained by this pussyfooting.

The problem of the Negro in America, as concentrated in the South, has been the subject of sociological studies, novels, plays and songs, usually with the white southerner as the villain. Either from the point of abstract humanity in studies or from the point of personal Negro tragedies in fictional forms, it is far easier to make out a case for an oppressed people than for their apparent oppressors. In turn, the viewpoint of the white southerner has long been expressed by the embarrassing white-supremacy demagogues or by humanists devoted to a gradualism of improvement in the surface conditions. Nobody went to the core.

The NAACP, with the ukase of the Supreme Court, has revealed its rejection of surface improvement. The professed goal of "equal facilities" was achieved in Prince Edward (however belatedly and under whatever pressures) by a new high school which

is the finest building in the county. With the students who struck for equal facilities only now graduating, it can be inferred that this was not the real goal and from that it follows that amalgamation in the schools is not the real goal either. It is now evident that the goal is for a total social equality which implies the amalgamation of the races. And this does go to the core of the problem.

In its simplest essence the problem is a conflict between an abstraction and an emotion. But, what is not in the least simple is the genesis of the emotional formation. Today, every doctor seeks to know the history of a patient, everything that conditions his current behavior, and individuals receive sympathy for the most monstrous crimes because of their early environment. But the composite history of the individuals who form and have formed the white South is too often impatiently dismissed with that phrase of callous ignorance, "you're still fighting the war." Actually, the South is still fighting what it fought for—the right to administer its own culture.

Because the brief confederation of the southern states failed of that right, and because the victors gave noble slogans to their armed subjugation, the southerner has acted with a certain defiant defensiveness in the American society which the victors imposed upon him. In his heart, the southerner knows that the glibly praised American way is not his way and never was. Yet, the courage that the southerner showed ninety years ago in fighting for his way has not been matched today by the courage in speaking for his way.

But it is his separateness from the common culture of the whole country that forms his emotional structure. From this emotional structure, that—for better or worse—is uniquely and proudly his, the southerner faces the living details, the ultimate realities, of an abstraction based on standards other than his own.

The court decision manifested no interest in the emotional structure of white southerners, nor of the practical problems caused by it. The problem is ours and the solution is ours. We will more bravely and more permanently solve the problem thrust upon us by making an unequivocal statement, a testament, of what we are, what we propose to do being what we are, and how we propose to do it.

Since 1820 the South has been acted upon. We were the first and largest minority in this country and we fought, very valiantly, for minority rights. (Re-read Calhoun some time.) Those who lost by arms laid down their lives for their belief. At least, we can stand up and be counted! r r r

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Clifford Dowley

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A SOUTHERN VIEW OF SEGREGATION

By GARLAND B. PORTER

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What is Happening to the Negro?

On May 17 the Supreme Court of the United States announced its decision to ban segregation in the schools of the nation, by which was meant an ending of segregation in the schools of the South, for here is where the situation exists.

The present writer felt that the decision was not based on proper interpretation of the Constitution, nor that it made good sociological sense. The Constitution was written to limit as well as grant certain power to the federal government. It never has been interpreted as placing education in any but the hands of the states, and many learned judges have participated in that position. To think the decision made good sociological sense betrays a lack of understanding of the South—which, bear in mind, is a law-abiding part of this great nation. Many different things are in different parts of the country—segregation is one thing peculiarly related to the South.

So we wrote an editorial sketching our beliefs in our June issue. We had favorable reaction to the views expressed. There was one dissenting voice, but it was from a friend in the North. For a long time it has been known that there were people outside the South who thought they knew more about our problems than we do. The Supreme Court decision is just another example. True, three members of the Court are from the South—they must have forgotten their homeland. There is nothing of criticism of the Negro in this statement, nor in our view. We simply take the plain, clear, and simple view that the Negroes are a race, and therefore have customs, background, consciousness, and fundamental characteristics of their own. They should develop these, or they will cease to exist as an ethnic identity.

If it is the Negro's wish to cease to exist, it might be made plain that there are white people who do wish to continue unmixed. For this is the crux of the situation—the Negro should be left to his own schools, clubs, churches, institutions in toto, or he will never develop them further. Mingling of the children in school is but a step as any one who has even a faint grasp of sociology should know. Therefore, the decision of this Supreme Court, which has negated the wise handling of this problem of years past, is the worst calamity ever befallen the Negro as such—it places him now in a position from which he can never fulfill his destiny—unless his destiny is to become a lost race, and to become lost he must be absorbed into the white race.

This is the tragic but inevitable truth of the widely-heralded decision. It corresponds to the act of transportation of the first Negroes to this country as slaves—and they came along shortly after the Jamestown settlement in 1620. That slave captain, bent only upon gain for himself, without so meaning did a great favor to men and women who were to be blessed with the fruits of civilization evolved by the white man. The descendants of the colored

slaves today are fast bringing into their own race the white man's way of life.

Robbing the Negro's Opportunity

Therefore, with the worst portion of the ordeal past, are we going to take this quick and lethal method of robbing the Negro of his eventual chance to stand on his own and develop a society and a race pride and tradition that his friends think he can? Is it that with the advent

his highest capabilities. There is nowhere to be found more hard dollars being spent to give him educational and other advantages. But that is not enough—why? It is because of the pernicious agitation on the part of the NAACP. The NAACP is bent upon intermixing the races in all respects, else it would not have fanned this issue to its present heat so long after the Negro problems are well on their way to solution. It might be in order that the Supreme Court examine into the deep purpose of NAACP. What

Negroes of Glascock County are so pleased with their school that they have petitioned the State Board of Education to allow them to take over and run their school just as it has been planned. How any one could think this would be a blow to the pride of the Negroes is difficult to comprehend. There is nothing but a fact involved in seeing that a Negro and a white man are different—they are members of different races. People who live in the South know the Negro for what he is—a man of many fine qualities, kind and loyal and by nature cheerful. It is doubtful that a happier class of people exists on the average, than the Negro of the South, and he might have been exceedingly happy now except for the agitation of the NAACP.

Although there are many Negroes who have already been "integrated" into the way of life in the South and who are happy, because they are not mistreated and because they know that they are members of a different race, with many generations to come before they can arrive at a stage of culture comparable to that evolved by the white man, there are, of course, Negroes—many of mixed blood—who are striving for "equality." Equality is something that time and nature control, with no short-cuts and no royal roads. The white race evolved the very rights under which today members of less creative races are rearing their hue and cry. And because the white man has developed a philosophy of tolerance and the helping hand, he has been lulled into a sense of false security—he is not fully aware, except in too few instances, of the peril to the white race that this political NAACP drive spells. By which is meant the surging campaign for amalgamation.

Those who cite the specious argument as did Chief Justice Warren, that the Negro proves something by great achievement in numerous instances, forget that such achievements have come out of the present condition—the one that makes it impossible for the Negro to achieve! Many Negroes have achieved success and well-deserved eminence. And in the South. They have been Negroes who had fine qualities just as white men of fine qualities have achieved greatness. And the latter also usually at great disadvantage.

GARLAND B. PORTER

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His experience has been varied, and he is qualified thereby to present a Southern view of segregation, which is reported from his magazine. For the convenience of our readers we present his views in a series of articles, each devoted to a phase of the question.

of Chief Justice Warren into the Supreme Court understanding and wisdom not hitherto possessed by that learned body has miraculously been attained? This question is asked because to him has been given chief credit for this unfortunate decision. In a leading national publication he has been hailed as having fathered one of the really great decisions in Supreme Court history. We think such is taking the present-day custom of glamorizing men and events just a bit too far. If Chief Justice Warren did furnish the spark that kindled the decision, and he seems to be the most powerful personality in that body, with vast persuasive talents and a record of leadership in political circles almost without a peer at this time, it would seem that he has rushed in where angels have feared to tread.

What of White "Complexes?"

Should a man with a reasonable care for all the people affected by his decision—not just a part of them—have been so hasty? Was no thought given to the white race of the South which for years has struggled along with the problem that fate dumped on them, with a social consciousness that is not a theory but a fact of life—was no concern given for their "Complexes"? It was stated in the decision that denial of colored child of the right to go to school with white children might engender an inferiority complex that he could never throw off? Is it not likely that the forcing of white children to closer association with colored children than the customs of the races had produced, could also engender some unfortunate complexes? To ask this question is not to say the white child is superior, or the colored child inferior. Perhaps the colored child is superior, as some people claim. The fact of the matter is that the white race is the one that is offering the helping hand to the Negro race, in the South as much as can be found anywhere in this nation.

As a matter of fact, nowhere under the sun is a more determined effort being made than in the South to bring the Negro to

sort of man wishes to force him self into circles where he is not invited?

No Mistreatment of Negro

Nor can it be argued that the Negro is being mistreated in the South. His crimes against members of his own race are greater than crimes against the white, or white crimes against the Negro. These are matters of record and should be impressive to a judge. That the Negro should be better and that education will improve him is not debatable—it is known in the South with even more awareness than in the North or West where a Negro is almost a rarity. If the NAACP and others, many of them demagogues, had not whipped up this frenzy of "Keeping up with the white Jones" on the part of the Negro, who is about to be duped out of a chance to become an even more respected citizen than he is; if these so-called friends had been as wise as they were energetic, the educational program of the Negroes in the South would soon have given them schools which would have lifted their pride infinitely, and would have become the longest single stride ever made by the race.

An example of this is to be had in Glascock County Georgia. Two school buildings have been just completed there, one for whites and one for Negroes. The

Segregation Not a Moral Issue

There are no morals involved in this situation—it is not morally wrong for Negroes to go to their schools and whites to theirs. Any one who sees this as a moral question fails to comprehend what constitutes morality.

This is an enthralling and sociological question. And there are legal aspects too. Legally the Negro is entitled to equal but separate schools, and this has been working. Legally he is not entitled to force his way into any school that the state and local laws say are for others. The same law that gives him a right to his own schools, defines the school regulations in full. That constitutes due process of law, strictly ap-

plied. It is not the function of the Supreme Court to write new laws. The Supreme Court's functions are also founded in the Constitution—it must pass upon the law, not over, or beyond it. The Supreme Court is bound by precedent also, just as other courts. Where are the precedents that support the recent decision, and where is the law? What it has decreed is in reality an alteration of the law.

This decision should rest simply on the fact that Negroes are being denied education without due process of law—and that point cannot now be proved. It might have been proved at some time in the past, but not now. As for

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the word protection, used generally in the decision, there is no relevancy of protection. It has been proved many times that Negroes go to school and learn things with the normal protection that exists for the whites and Negroes.

I think we are too afraid in the nation at this time that some one, maybe some Communist, will criticize us for the way we "treat" the colored segment of our population. The simple answer is that the colored segment gets equal protection under our laws; and if agitators would only keep their itchy minds on really constructive matters, our Negroes would be able to achieve something eminently worth while. That the Supreme Court came out with a decision destined to spell ruin to the Negro as a race is something that, under whatever hood intentions, was arrived at without full knowledge of what is going on in the South, where the preponderance of Negroes live. I personally think there still exist in this great nation a feeling that somehow the folks of the South are mean as hell and some thing ought to be done about it. The white folks, that is—the Negroes being all right.

South Misdemeanor

We respectfully invite the Supreme Court to come down South and live for a while. Their function always has been to protect the rights of the minority, under presumption that the majority can take care of itself. But down here they will learn to feel this question, as well as rule on it. And perhaps they will realize without attaching stigma that the Negro is a different creature from the white man, and might even naturally be happier in his own traditions and his own places. The real movement of their decision is to blend the races, whether that is their intent; and it might be the real intent of some. This we cannot judge, for on that point we are as ignorant of the fact as they are of the real problem in the South. It is to be wondered what the members think of intermarriage and whether they would like it, or even permit it, in their own children. If the reply is that such is not the issue, answer can be that such is the ultimate question. We come back to this: intermingling in schools, in clubs, on playgrounds, in parks, in churches, in communities, lead all in one direction. Any one who cannot see that direction needs a traffic light.

Why is it that such great stress is laid on having these young children thrown together at the tender school ages? Can it be that a crafty plan is back of this "tolerance"? Is it born of the well-known fact that if children are thrown together and allowed—not just forced—to mix and mingle restraints of race can be worn away? Despite all the care and examples of Southern white parents, here and there will appear a case of stepping over the line: result another mulatto. Is it really a desire that more mulattoes, more quadroons, more octoroons, more mongrels in general are to be encouraged? If this is the plan, let it be admitted! If this is not the plan, the May 17 decision should be recalled—and at once. It is pointed in no other direction, and no amount of new sociology can prove it otherwise. Of course, there is the even worse alternative—intermarriage.

Racial Integrity

If marriage between these school friends is eventually to be

denied, why not admit of the social and / or racial difference in the beginning, before the invitation to closer "friendship" has been cultivated? In certain parts of the nation mixed dating already is being accepted, mixed marriages practiced. Speaking of rights, I do not believe any member of the white race has the right to mix the blood of his or her race with a member of the Negro race. Individual rights invaded? Make no mistake about it, there is no such thing as unrestricted individual right, as is proved by many well-known usages. No man has the right to infringe the rights of others—no man has the right to commit suicide. . . . Why should any man claim the right to mix the blood of the white race with a member of the negro race? The product of such mixing endangers by process the purity of the race as a whole. If Chief Justice Warren is so jealous of the eye of a Negro child that will be offended by not mixing socially with white children, why deny the white race the right to keep its race-strain pure, and retain the social safeguards of separate schools which keep the children separated until they have attained ages where basic differences may be comprehended? To say that children know no such differences does not argue that basic differences are not there: children are unaware of many things until they are instructed by their elders. That, surprisingly enough, is why they go to school at all. To learn things that slowly and painstakingly have been developed through the ages. Such is the responsibility of the elders.

The decision carried a permissive notation that parties might come forward and assist in formulating decrees to put the new law into effect. We call it a law, for the Supreme Court created in their decision a new law of the land. If the Justices had been guided either by the Constitution or by precedent, they would have been satisfied with the equal but separate tradition—and law of the regions affected.

What Is NAACP?

In this decision there is no escaping the mischief being made by NAACP. This body by its title would "advance the colored people." Has it ever made any effort to advance the colored people by stimulating their pride of race in achieving their own good by their own efforts, or has it confined its energies and actions toward pushing into white social structures? Have programs been directed that would teach colored leadership of colored masses, or has it been aimed at proclaiming "rights" that time and instinctive processes have never produced? Take the meeting in late June at Dallas. There the NAACP arbitrarily set September, 1955, as the date to end all segregation in public and elementary schools in the United States. They stated that this is just one goal assumed—others are to be demanded. Just how soon will they bring forward a case that seeks to deprive the states of their rights to have laws on their statute books banning mixed marriages?

Will the Supreme Court then say that it is not an embarrassment to a Negro to be denied the right to marry a white person? It would appear that this is at least as definite a line as separate schools. Will the Supreme Court be logical, and follow its own precedent, and ban the laws that today are on the books of some states even outside the

South? Where does "protection" end? If the Justices will refuse to go that far, they had better back up now, before it is too late. We may be sure that the NAACP is not going to be too wasteful of the present opportunity, for now is the time to strike. The inclination of the present Court is clear—changes in the membership might bring minds more in the tradition of the learned men who have gone before.

Recently a Negro woman appealed from the law in Alabama that bans mixed marriages, but the Supreme Court refused to take jurisdiction. (It is surprising to know that there are white men who will marry outside the race, but there are some. The community as a whole must be protected against them just as against other abnormalities. They take the law into their own hands—maybe they consider themselves free-thinkers.) How long can this or the next Supreme Court refuse to take jurisdiction? Until they have their ninth member confirmed?

It is a historical fact that other nations have absorbed Negroes by intermarriages—even mixing with their slaves—and without exception those nations lost creative spirit and fell by the wayside.

As we have said, the Negro is a different person, with a different psychology, not necessarily worse, but different. Recently a young white woman from the South was teaching school in an Ohio city. Her second graders numbered three white children and 23 colored. The young teacher has a tawny complexion and natural blond hair, and she still

retained traces of a Florida mulatto. One afternoon one of the little colored girls approached her and in a confidential voice asked:

"Mrs. . . . how often do you straighten your hair?"

The young teacher was wearing a pony bob that accentuated her unruly tresses. "Why, my hair is naturally straight, Joanne," she said. "It is? My Mamma straightens my hair once a week," replied the second grader.

There is no question but that the Negroes have their own way of looking at things. It is understandable that they feel in a position subservient to the whites. Their previous condition of servitude still hovers above them. But why is it necessary to upset them further, deny them the opportunity to develop their own race and traditions by harping on "rights" not essential to their happiness, nor denied them by practice?

If the full significance of this decision were comprehended by the Negroes, they would put up such a protest that the NAACP would lose every trace of any prestige it might hold with them, and the Supreme Court would be besieged by their petitions to allow them to continue in the development of their own race as such, in their own way and with the friendly help of the whites. But they have been confused by propaganda, stirred up by self-seeking men of their own race and others, so that only the keenest of vision among them know that the turmoil is all about. Those of clear vision do not wish to lose their racial integrity.

Progress Made in Segregated School System

Negroes Get \$125,000,000

In Georgia

The State of Georgia presents a situation that would seem to satisfy every claim that the Negroes might have on education. The present building program represents some \$200,000,000 from the State, supplemented by some \$50,000,000 of local school systems, and \$20,000,000 of federal funds. Of the total \$270,000,000, half is going to new schools for Negroes.

More than half the teachers and school children of Georgia will be affected by this new building program when completed. Approximately 14,000 classrooms are affected, each represented by a teacher. These new classrooms will be served by new lunch rooms, libraries, etc. The program, which is now in its second year, contemplates the consolidation of 1,765 Negro schools into 500 new and modern educational plants. The consolidation of the smaller Negro schools into bigger, and better, facilities has lagged behind that of the white consolidation program, but this present program can work to the advantage of the Negroes, as theirs will be more modern and finer.

The same program reflected in the white schools will see 1,534 smaller schools converted into 1,200. Many of the consolidated schools for white children already have been occupied. The Negro school children are about half in numbers of the white children.

It is interesting to note that this great program of improvement of the Negro school children's advantages has taken place during the administration of Governor Herman Talmadge who has just received a lot of criticism for his stand on behalf of segregation. Just another instance of confusion on this subject.

The present expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars to furnish Negro schools shows that something else is sought in this agitation on the part of NAACP and some Negroes than school facilities. Those who will honestly answer the question will state, as did C. A. Scott, publisher of The Atlanta World, Negro daily newspaper, that it is something more.

More Than Equal Education

"It is not just the availability of the schools," said Mr. Scott, when asked by this writer, "but the stigma." That thought is worth great consideration.

There are many Negroes who do not particularly care about mixing their children with white children in schools, but who do feel that there is some sin attached to not being able to go to those schools. This, to my way of thinking, is much of the matter. I feel that education is long past due on this point, not only at the level of the Negro in the South, but at the white levels in the North, East, and West. I think it is badly needed at the level of the Supreme Court itself. The Supreme Court does not view the situation as I, or as the average Southern white views it, to be sure.

But the average white Southerner—and any one who doubts this can hold a placard—wishes the Negro race to develop itself; the Negroes' own arts and sciences, and culture, and educational traditions in their own ways and in their own homes, schools and areas. There has been, and this certainly is true of recent years, the closest harmony and cooperation between the educators and leaders of both races in the South. It is true that the white schools were developed earlier than those of the Ne-

groes; but let any man ask himself honestly if this was not natural? The white people had to recover from the devastation of the Civil War before they could build any schools—theirs or the Negroes. And without any help.

There has been understandable discontent among the Negroes at being unable to vote in many Southern States. There were many subterfuges practiced by the demagogues among the white politicians. Again let it be asked: do not politicians always try to keep their opponents away from the polls? This practice is not defended, it is just cited. Nor is it confined to the South. Politicians know but one creed—get elected. Usually they strive might and main to disqualify everybody of opposing belief. The Negroes were the wards of the Republican Party—Democrats didn't want their adverse votes counted. Again, this practice is not defended here, it is cited. Are politicians anywhere any too ardent in support of getting out votes for the opposition? Let him who is without sin, cast the first stone (or vote).

Today Negroes are exercising their place at the polls. They are being accepted in their political status. They are no longer Republicans, by the way. The long

Roosevelt rule broke through that barrier.

One Negro's Viewpoint

Let's look at a few instances that reflect life as it is being lived in these days and times, and in the South. The day after the decision was handed down a Negro doctor in Atlanta visited one of his patients in a hospital. He came in all smiles and "Wasn't it fine?" he asked.

"What's fine?" was the reply. "Why, the Supreme Court's ruling," he said.

"I don't think it's fine at all," answered his patient.

"You don't? Why, isn't that what we've been fighting for?"

"I haven't," said his patient. "And what's more I think it was the very worst thing that could happen for our people. I think it will do more harm than good and I am ashamed of our Supreme Court."

His patient was a Negro woman school teacher from a small town in Georgia and who had an ideal of Negro traditions that included Negro children being taught by Negro teachers. Hers is the long range view, that clear view, the view that comprehends a people striving to express their destiny from within themselves rather than a tender and short-sighted evaluation of an ego.

14th Amendment Clear—Court Decision Questioned

So much has been said of this 14th Amendment that a few words about it are in order at this crucial stage of our national history. Briefly, let it be understood that the 14th Amendment never did pass in a truly lawful manner. In 1866 it was referred to the states for ratification; 10 Southern States voted against it, one called. This so enraged the North that these 10 states were divided into five military districts, each under a Union general, and new "elections" were rigged. Thus in 1868 under threat, duress, and assurance that these states without ratification never would get their affairs back into their own hands, the obnoxious amendment was "ratified." In the elections Negro troops in many instances were allowed to man the polls, many white voters were disqualified, and the result was no more the will of the governed than similar "elections" in Europe by Nazis and Communists in more recent times.

These latter elections we greet with bitter protest—what of that fraud in 1868 that disgraced our Constitutional process? The 14th Amendment ought to be declared unconstitutional right now, for it has no substance of decent enactment. Is any compact born of duress ever given sanctity in the courts? Let the Supreme Court peer closely at this 14th Amendment upon which it bases its May 17 decision!

And yet we have such a decision that threatens our way of life, presages the breaking down of all barriers of race, and in such a decision reverses at least five previous Supreme Court decisions, 13 Federal Court decisions, and 57 State Court decisions. Are we to conclude that this presently constituted Supreme Court knows more Constitutional law, has more comprehension of the rights of our people, less bias, and in general better judicial qualifications than the total of those judges whose decisions they have undone?

Amazingly enough, the May 17 decision refers to a large degree of attention as having been given to the "circumstances surround-

ing the adoption of the 14th Amendment in 1868. "How any panel of judges could condone, after careful consideration, the method by which that Amendment was welded into our Constitution, staggers the mind. There never has been a more flagrant disregard of the rights of the States. Nowhere in our history is a more outrageous chapter to be found! And yet our present Supreme Court uses that very article to give legality to the decision. The decision says that "exhaustive consideration" was given to how the Amendment went through Congress, was ratified by the States, "then existing practices in racial segregation, and the view of proponents and opponents of the Amendment."

At the Constitutional Convention of the State of North Carolina in 1868, the subject of separate schools was considered. A Negro representative to the Convention who had lived in Pennsylvania went on record for separate schools. He cited the practice of separate schools in Pennsylvania, in every case where there were considerable numbers of colored children. His verdict: "I must be permitted to say that it is impossible for white teachers, educated as they necessarily are in this country, to enter into the feelings of colored people as the colored teacher does." That statement contains more sociological sense and comprehension of the fundamental aspects of the case than I can find in the entire May 17 decision.

And we find in that May 17 decision a brand of sociology, so-called, that is no more native to the region of the world affected by the decision than the rules of bridge when applied to golf—one game glorifies a large score, whereas the other strains every nerve and sinew to keep the score down. The sociology is so bad that it would require a volume to do justice to its inequity. I will say clearly and honestly that I do not recall ever reading any document of purported gravity and importance that contains such bad logic.

The NAACP has been frantic in

recent years and months because the conditions that they have used for their propaganda perceptibly have been fading away. No better example of this can be cited than that of the agitation not so long ago for lynch laws which might be likened to the placing of lock on the door after the horse has been stolen. In 1901, when the largest number of lynchings occurred during the last half century, there were 130 in the nation (105 Negroes and 25 whites); by 1951 this score had fallen to just one. The need existed for some cure of a situation 50 years ago, but now many things have contributed to more civilized application of "the processes of law" and order.

Constitution Is Clear

However, the opinion penned by Chief Justice Earl Warren proceeded carefully to push aside any and all of these instances that did not support his view that separate schools were bad for the egos of the Negro children. He pushed out of his way the Plessy vs. Ferguson decision of 1896 from which came the equal but separate philosophy. "American courts have since labored with the doctrine for over half a century," it says in the Chief Justice Warren decision, and in those words dismisses the doctrine, proceeding to the position that regardless of the "tangible" factors Negro students cannot exercise equal rights to education except in the presence of white children. What logic! What Constitutional law!

It's almost incredible. As one reads the decision the feeling grows that here is a document that disregards the white child entirely and sides with the Negro. On the one hand it says that there is equality, and on the other it argues that there is no equality; for if the white child supplies by his very presence in the school room of the Negro child an ingredient not there otherwise, where is the equality? If the point is raised that one ego might be damaged by being denied association with the other, is it not possible that the ego of the other might be damaged by forcing it into association of the one? Are we to assume that Chief Justice Warren and his eight associates are in this decision going to

ascend to the heights of suspending the lines of race? Just as President Lincoln confirmed certain forces when he suspended the writ of habeas corpus, which led to the famous Ex Parte Milligan decision—which, by the way, was decided by the strict law—and no mention of inferiority complexes or egos.

In Ex Parte Milligan the Supreme Court sided with the Constitution and said the military had no right to try to convict Milligan. In this present case, there is no one to turn to save the same men who rendered the decision requested by the NAACP. It is therefore necessary for the South to ask that they recall their decision; but the full case must be presented to them. Until now most of the NAACP victories have been won largely by default. There is law and there is sociological sense on the segregation side of the question—let it be presented in orderly fashion, but fully.

We Must Face Case

There is no reason to feel the Supreme Court will not find ways to express its present mood, whether the sanctity of a contract, or any other new complexion of the case is presented. It is obvious that Chief Justice Warren, a most persuasive man, thinks the South is mistreating the Negroes. He perhaps has felt that way for years. He does not know the case as we in the South know it, to be sure; but he will never change his way of thinking until he has the facts. It's up to the South to give him the facts. As has been said, many people outside the South think many things of us until they come into the South to live. Then they learn that we are a people, good and bad just like others, making mistakes just as others, making progress just as others. And not such fools after all. But if we think this Supreme Court is going to see our side and our problems in perspective as we see them without our going to a lot of trouble to present the full picture, then we are crazy. The Justices have proved already that they think we are wrong; and they think they have to rescue the poor Negro from Simon Legree. Where do we think they got that word protection?

Fate of Southern Negro Teachers Important

The fate of the worthy Southern Negro school teacher is a natural part of this subject, but neither the Supreme Court nor any spokesman of NAACP, so far as we know, has taken any steps to cite a solution of their plight. What will happen to them? In the South they have become an important part of the answer that has evolved to the question of education of the Negroes. Some of these well-qualified people have spent long years in preparing for their chosen work, and they are dedicated to the ideal of educating the Negroes, not just sitting on the sidelines and offering advice.

The Mississippi Picture

In the issue of August 27, U. S. News & World Report, eminent national magazine published in Washington, has a feature story on the Negro school teacher, citing tables by states of numbers engaged in the profession. It is shown that seven Negro teachers are employed in the 17 Southern and Border States and the District of Columbia for every one employed in the 31 states of non-segregated students. Some striking comparisons are spotlighted in these tables. Mississippi alone,

a state of 2,178,914 population, has as many Negro teachers in its school as do the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Kansas combined. In Mississippi there are 551,700 school children; in the four other states mentioned there are 5,439,000, almost ten to one.

In Mississippi there are almost an equal number of Negroes and whites. In some Southern States the Negroes run generally from a fourth to a third of the population. It is only when their numbers are around a minimum of 15 to 20 per cent that they offer really comprehensible perspective in social matters. In states where they are five per cent and less, the word Negro has little more than academic significance. It might be said with defensible logic.

In California, Chief Justice Warren's state, of a population of 10,586,333, there were 462,164 Negroes, according to the 1950 census. That's roughly 4.3 Negroes of 10,586 total population, making a Negro almost an oddity. Is that sort of workshop among Negroes adequate for a man to solve the complexities of two races living in the same

communities where the proportions run as high as 985 out of every 2100, as is the case in Mississippi?

In the 17 segregation states (including District of Columbia, Delaware, Missouri) are 76,380 Negro teachers. In the other 31 states are 10,243.

In the fifteen Southern and Border States there are 9,901,578 Negroes among a total population of 46,078,526. Total population of the U. S. in 1950 was 159,497,561, of which 15,443,598 were Negroes. Thus it is seen that of all the Negroes two-thirds were in the Southern States, those affected by the segregation decision. That looks decidedly more than an academic problem; in fact, it has all the qualifications of a local situation.

No doubt there have been some unique problems associated with the Chinese in San Francisco, but there is no instance on record of a man's going out there from the South and deciding that it makes a young Chinese feel bad because his cousin in China can't move into the State of California and therefore the customs of the place should be changed.

In the city of Atlanta in September a new one million dollar Negro high school opened, the fifth high school for Negroes as compared with 14 for the white children. Of the city's total school children, approximately one-third are Negroes. In a recent national publication was a panel of three pictures showing a little Negro boy who was one among 39 white children in a second grade. If that percentage held in the South, we'd have no problem, and it would be simple to let them attend white schools. But in the South the Negroes are in classes with 25 or even 45 per cent Negroes going through the various grades and arriving at the senior level. Have they met on equal social footing all alone? Did they go to the dances, mix in their dates? If not, why not? And if they did, do they continue on equal social footing afterward? If not, why not? And if they do, do they intermarry? Does some one say this is not germane to the question? Then some one is very naïf indeed.

Always bear in mind that nothing has been taken away from the Negroes in the South. They have risen in the third generation from slavery to people with a decent regard of themselves—when let alone by outsiders—and with a good and getting better educational system, with churches and theatres, and businesses of their own. In fine, they have been modeling their society on the pattern of their former masters. The latter have adopted the problems and have aided in the solution of them, as any one who is willing to make an honest appraisal should admit. Not so long ago a Negro writer from the North made a trip through the South and went back to give just that report of what he found to be true.

One trouble with the Negro problem—and they are not the only people with a problem, the white's have theirs—is that we in the country have too naïve a view of the thing. We have a sort of false modesty, as if a poor Negro were somehow to be pitied beyond and below a poor white man. A Negro alum has suddenly become a disgrace, whereas a white alum is something that will somehow be cured as things are worked out. Two things have contributed to this general failure to take a mature view of the

thing, and these have been used by the NAACP on which to apply their crowbars. One is the political capital made of the Negro under the New Deal demagoguery. This movement had its great champion in Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Because of his personal political talents he was able to stir up the Negro as a political ally without losing the vote of the white folks of the South. This was one of the political phenomena of history. FDR by his own peculiar magic accomplished the feat of killing the Republican Party of his day with a microphone, and the old line Democratic party with a smile. In so doing, he became the man of Destiny of the Negro, greater even than Lincoln. But somehow he was too wily and when he left the stage they never had been able to pin him down as the NAACP had wished. The white people of the South saw it happening before they own eyes, but so have people seen other magicians perform without realizing what it was costing them. He played upon the gullible South with the word Democrat.

And, too, the world situation has changed rapidly recently—communism has caused a sort of misadventure to come over the eyes of the people. Communists say we are bad because we draw the color line; so we must not draw the color line; and we will confound the Communists. In this wise there has rolled down upon us a giant snowball that causes the Negro great shame to be a Negro and he must immediately be

taken into the great white family. This is not jest, nor is said in irony. It is what is happening. The apathetic white spokesmen have stood by and faintly waved their hands, but said little for fear, it would seem, of offending some one, and allowed the NAACP, with no sense of proportion to assume everything is theirs that they can take. And so they take it. Now it's time we examined their cause a little more closely. Since they have in concert set about plans to wreck all our program of bringing their own race to a better way of life, it is in order for the white race to make itself active in locating the line beyond which their "advance" cannot go.

As for myself, as editor of this magazine I have given the colored side of advertising in the South every possible encouragement. Two years ago we took cognizance of the tremendous importance of the Negro audience, and the story we carried on Negro radio programming in our issue of December, 1952, covered 11 pages. That was the longest single treatment we had ever given to a story of any nature, white or black. It was followed by another review of Negro programming in the issue of December 1953, covering 10 pages. In both of these features the Negro stations participated by advertising and by supplying practically every bit of the information and data. We received it by direct reports from them, their own records, their own experiences. And it was a 100 per cent Negro report. That was why we printed it.

Races Have Definite Characteristics

The facts in the case of the Negro in this country are to be found in the South. There are Negroes elsewhere to be sure—in Harlem, New York City. We make no analysis of Harlem, just mention it. Let those who know some thing of that area, and who wish to change it in any respect, do so. But of the 150,000,000 in the 1950 census, 46,000,000 live in the states with which we are concerned. Of the 15,000,000 Negroes in the nation, 10,000,000 live in these states—in round numbers. That gives 104,000,000 of our population 5,000,000 Negroes. Less than five per cent. Is it that the people of that part of the nation can tell us more of our problems and of our people than we know of ourselves? And yet, nine men have agreed that it is bad for us to expect Negroes to develop their own teachers and schools, with us contributing every possible help, most of the money, by the way; that it will lead to inferiority complexes on the part of the Negroes that will last them through life; that they are not being given "protection" in this process—it is one of the most amazing decisions that has ever come from a judicial body of comparable pretense. Far from being proud of any penetrating, deep and fine light that his projection into the case has brought, one would think Chief Justice Warren might feel a little self-conscious at the amazing speed of his solution to the problem that has engaged years of study by other Supreme Courts, of such Justices as Charles Evans Hughes, William Howard Taft, Oliver Wendell Holmes to name only a few of the men who took to the Court deep knowledge of the law and conduct of human and political affairs. Mr. Warren was named Chief Justice by President Eisenhower on Oct. 2, took oath of office on Oct. 5, 1953. He was

confirmed by the Senate on March 1, 1954 and by May 17 he had the product, a dropped FDR in his heyday never showed more alacrity in solving a serious problem.

It is a significant fact that in every area of the world where great numbers of Negroes live among whites, the whites have a certain view of the two races; whereas, where only a few Negroes live among whites, the whites there have just the opposite view. Does this signify nothing to the whites who do not live among great numbers of Negroes? Take a look at the other side of this tolerance idea: In Liberia, where the ruling class is composed of descendants of American slaves, the law says that only those of African descent can become citizens, and none but citizens can own land. No member of the United States Supreme Court, nor white member of the Congress, nor any of our white population could own an inch of land in Liberia or cast a vote for anything. That's the Negro's concept of tolerance; and yet the NAACP speaks in sanctimonious terms of prejudice, of equality, of "rights." If there is so basic and racial difference between our race and theirs, why that law in their land, which by the way, is ruled over by the segment of their population that had some contact with the white man's world? They seem to have learned enough to rule their ignorant and uncivilized cousins, but they did not accept our ideals of tolerance and helpfulness. Why? Can it be that they do not come naturally by these refinements of feeling?

The President has said that he wished to make a showcase of Washington for the rest of the nation to emulate. Now, just how far does he intend to go? If he is really serious why not give the vote to the good citizens—white

and black—of the District of Columbia. It would seem that the franchise is most fundamental in the process of democracy. Is it answered that the situation of democracy is different in the District? If a difference as vital as the right to vote can be applied in the "National Showcase," why not see that there is a difference applicable to a region where Negroes are so numerous as to constitute a racial bloc? Let all of us be honest, forgetting politics and half-truths, just what is this "difference"? As I see it, the people of the District are entitled to vote. I don't live there, so I ought to be an expert on the question.

There are very few Negroes on the British Isles—recently I saw a news story that there were perhaps 80,000 competing for labor and Labor Unions were protesting this competition. Englishmen know little, we might say, of the Negro at first hand, but some of their critics have studied objectively the literary output of the American Negro and in this connection some exceedingly interesting documents appeared in the Literary Supplement of The London Times of September 17, 1954. I quote:

"Why should the American Negro not so far have been able to write striking and original English verse? One reason at least is fairly obvious. Taking American Negro society as a whole, he is still, in spite of his long sojourn in America, a different kind of person from the American white man. . . . Three hundred years in America have not yet obliterated the Negro's sense of life and timing, and yet Negroes appear to wish that it had. For all the brave statements of 'New Negro' days, they still try to emulate a style which is not their own, in another place, in another climate, among a different kind of people. Why should not the Negro try to build on what he has instead of trying to emulate the white man?"

The answer to that suggests what we have said—either the Negro must have pride in his race and develop his own spirit and natural talents or be a weak copy of a great tradition developed by the white race. Every attempt to amalgamate him into the white race thwarts his honesty.

Another observation from across the water, by W. A. Bonser, Professor in the University of Amsterdam, recently deceased, in his book "Race and Crime" cites statistics from the United States, and says: "In conclusion, it must be remarked that the criminality of Negroes in the Northern States is considerably higher than in the Southern States, actually three to one." His findings regarding differences in crime among different segments of the population over here certainly cannot be ascribed to "Southern prejudice." The important point in the above is that in the North the Negro is supposed to be given great freedom, in the South mistreated.

Every fully informed and thinking person, concerned with the integrity of each race, not seeking quick and selfish ends, knows that the solution being worked out in the South is the best ever devised by man to meet a similar problem. Upsetting this solution which has grown from the situation itself and not from the minds of some outside and/or self-serving theorists is race suicide. Let's be honest and call it by its right name and not some coddling term like integration: the Negro has been integrated in the South already. And doing well.

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***The Supreme Court's "Modern Scientific
Authorities" in the Segregation Cases***

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Let us consider the so-called modern "anthropology" cited by the Court as its authority to change and destroy the constitutional guarantees of the reserved natural right of the people of the States of the Union to freedom of choice and of the States to regulate their public schools.

Speech of
Hon. James O. Eastland
of Mississippi
in the
Senate of the United States
Thursday, May 26, 1955

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expense*

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SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 28, 1955

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, yesterday I submitted a resolution asking the Senate to endorse an investigation of the alleged scientific authorities upon which the Supreme Court relied to sustain its decision in the school integration cases of last year. As will be revealed in detail in my remarks, there is clear and unmistakable evidence that the Court chose to follow the insidious and false propaganda foisted by alien ideologies rather than rely on the Constitution as written, and long established legal precedents.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of my resolution (S. Res. 104) be inserted in my remarks at this point of the Record.

THE RESOLUTION

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States rendered a decision on May 17, 1954, in the case of *Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka et al.* and four related cases, which admittedly departed from the established law and precedents in declaring the "separate but equal" doctrine of separation of the white and black races was unconstitutional insofar as it applied to public-school facilities; and

Whereas this decision was based solely and alone on psychological, sociological, and anthropological considerations, in that the Court stated: "Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority"; and

Whereas the footnote to the opinion lists six allegedly modern authorities and con-

cludes with the sentence: "And see generally Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (1944)"; and

Whereas a provisional investigation of the authorities upon which the Supreme Court relied reveals to a shocking degree their connection with and participation in the worldwide Communist conspiracy, in that Brameld and Frazier, listed in the group of 6 authorities, have no less than 28 citations in the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives revealing membership in, or participation with, Communist or Communist-front organizations and activities; and

Whereas the book, *An American Dilemma*, was prepared by a Swedish Socialist, who declared in the book that the United States Constitution was "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions" and its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people"; and

Whereas this book was the result of collaboration between Myrdal and certain alleged "scholars and experts" assigned him by the Carnegie Corp., of Alger Hiss fame; and

Whereas 16 of these so-called scholars and experts, who contributed to no less than 272 different articles and portions of the book, have been cited numerous times as members of Communist and subversive organizations; and

Whereas the citation of these authorities clearly indicates a dangerous influence and control exerted on the court by Communist-front pressure groups and other enemies of the American Republic and individual members thereof that is inimical to the general welfare and best interest of the Republic; and

Whereas this Senate, the 16 sovereign States whose constitutions were nullified by the illegal decision of the Supreme Court, and all of the people of the United States are now entitled to know beyond doubt and peradventure the complete extent and degree of Communist and Communist-front activity and influence in the preparation of the pseudo "modern scientific authority" which was the sole and only basis for the decision of the Supreme Court: Now, therefore, be it

Received. That it is the sense of the Senate that the Senate Committee on the Judiciary should proceed under its presently constituted powers to investigate the extent and degree of participation by individuals and groups identified with the Communist conspiracy, Communist-front organizations, and alien espionage, in the formation of the "modern scientific authority" upon which the Supreme Court relied in the school segregation cases.

SENATE COURT SHAKEN

Mr. EASTLAND, Mr. President, some-what more than 1 year ago I pointed out in an address on this floor that the Supreme Court had been indoctrinated and brainwashed by left-wing pressure groups; that individual members of the Court were influenced by and were guilty of grossly improper conduct in accepting awards and emoluments from groups and organizations interested in political litigation before the Court and bent on changing and destroying our American way of life; that such reprehensible conduct placed a question mark by the validity and the integrity of their decisions in cases in which these groups were interested, of which the school segregation case is one.

Today, I am calling upon the Members of the Senate to consider an even more serious problem. The Court has not only arrogated to itself powers which were not delegated to it under the Constitution of the United States and has entered the fields of the legislative and executive branches of the Government, but they are attempting to graft into the organic law of the land the teachings, preachments, and social doctrines arising from a political philosophy which is the antithesis of the principles upon which this Government was founded. The origin of the doctrine can be traced to Karl Marx, and their propagation is part and parcel of the conspiracy to divide and destroy this Government through internal controversy. The Court adopts

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this propaganda as "modern scientific authority."

NO SCIENTIFIC EXPERT ON SCIENCE

Mr. President, in the long legal history of this country, there has never before been a time when an Appellate Court or Supreme Court of the United States relied solely and alone on scientific authority to sustain a legal decision. I am informed that in the long history of British jurisprudence, there has never been a time when the high courts of England have resorted to such dubious authority, but that their decisions have been based on the law. Mr. President, my information is that the one time when the high appellate court of any major western nation has resorted to text books and the works of scientists to sustain its decision was when the high court of Germany sustained Hitler's racist laws.

What the Bar and the people of the United States are slow to realize is that in the rendition of the opinion on the school segregation cases the entire basis of American jurisprudence was swept away. There is only one other comparable system of jurisprudence which is based upon the winds of vacillating, political, and pseudo scientific opinion—the Peoples Courts of Soviet Russia. In that vast vacuum of liberty, the basis of their jurisprudence is the vacillating, ever-changing winds of pseudo authority. And that today is the basis of American jurisprudence as announced by a unanimous opinion of our Supreme Court.

SENATE COURT SHAKEN, DISCOMFORTED

Justice Frankfurter handed down an opinion as late as April 28, 1953, with the concurrence of Chief Justice Vinson and Justices Burton, Minton, and Clark, in which he absolutely denied the competence of the Court to pass upon issues such as those presented in the segregation cases. He said:

Only those lacking responsible humility will have a confident solution for problems as intractable as the frictions attributable to differences of race, color, or religion. * * * Certainly the due-process clause does not require the legislature to be in the vanguard of science—especially sciences as young as human sociology and cultural anthropology. * * *

It is not within our competence to affirm or deny status of racial scientists as to the dependence of the individual on the position of his racial or religious group in the community.

The Supreme Court, unable to relate science to the fifth amendment, has done an unheard of thing. It has now found scientific authorities to attempt to sustain its view of what the 14th amendment should mean. Who are these authorities? From what background do they come? What has been the nature of their work and activities?

THE "MODERN" AUTHORITIES

Let us consider the so-called modern authorities on psychology cited by the Court as its authority to change and destroy the constitutional guarantee of the reserved natural right of the people of the States of the Union to freedom of choice and of the States to regulate their public schools.

K. K. CLARK

First, they cited one K. K. Clark, a Negro, so-called social-science expert employed by the principal plaintiff in the segregation cases, the NAACP, whose lawyer argued these cases before the Court. To say the least, it is the most unusual procedure for any court to accept a litigant's paid employee as an authority on anything, let alone as an authority on psychology, to put him above the Constitution itself.

THEODORE BRAMELD

Then, too, we find cited by the Court as another alleged modern authority on psychology to override our Constitution, one Theodore Brameld, regarding whom the files of the Committee on Un-American

Activities of the United States House of Representatives are replete with citations and information. He is cited as having been a member of no less than 16 organizations declared to be communistic, Communist-front, or Communist dominated. His name has frequently appeared in the news columns of the Daily Worker.

Brameld, according to the Communist Official Daily Worker of February 28, 1949, signed a statement of the Committee for Free Political Advocacy defending the 12 Communist leaders.

Again, on December 10, 1953, the Daily Worker shows that Brameld signed an appeal to President Truman requesting amnesty for leaders of the Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act.

And, again, on February 10, 1938, the Daily Worker shows Theodore Brameld to have signed a letter in defense of the appointment of Simon W. Gerson, a Communist, to the staff of Stanley Isaacs.

His name appears on a brief submitted by Cultural Workers to the Supreme Court in October 1949, on behalf of the 19 convicted defendants engaged in the motion-picture industry, who were charged with contempt of a congressional committee for refusing to affirm or deny membership in the Communist Party in response to committee questions.

He was affiliated with the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, as shown by the Daily Worker of August 10, 1950, which committee was cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released on June 1 and September 21, 1948, and was redesignated by Attorney General Brownell, April 29, 1953, under provisions of Executive Order 10450. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States."

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He was listed by the Daily Worker on January 11 and 20, 1938, as a supporter of the Boycott Japanese Goods Conference of the American League for Peace and Democracy. The American League for Peace and Democracy was established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Racism "in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union" and "was designed to conceal Communist control, in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International."

This is shown by report of Attorney General Biddle, Communications, Records, September 24, 1945; by report of Attorney General Clark—letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1 and September 21, 1948; and by Attorney General Brownell in his memorandum of April 28, 1953. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American League for Peace and Democracy as "the largest of the Communist-front movements in the United States," by its report of January 3, 1939, and other reports cited March 20, 1944.

Brameld was one of those who issued a statement of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, dated December 14, 1949, calling for an international agreement to ban the use of atomic weapons. But the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact was formed as a result of the Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact to further the aims of Communists in the United States doing their part in the Moscow campaign, according to a report of the Committee on Un-American Activities, April 29, 1951.

He was a sponsor of the Midcentury Conference for Peace, May 29 and 30, 1950, which was cited by the committee as having been "aimed to assembling as many suitable persons as possible under

Communist direction and turning them into a vast sounding board for Communist propaganda."

Brameld was a sponsor of the Conference of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, held under auspices of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, New York City, March 25-27, 1949. On April 19, 1949, the Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Cultural and Scientific Conference as a Communist-front, which "was actually a supermobilization of the inveterate wheelbarrows and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations."

Brameld was a sponsor of a conference held October 9 and 10, 1948, by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, which was cited as Communist-front in the same committee report on April 18, 1949.

In October 1938 he was a member of the Nonpartisan Committee for the Election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio, which organization was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist-front on March 20, 1944.

In 1939, Theodore Brameld also was a sponsor of the Refugee Scholarship and Peace Campaign, which was cited as Communist-front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report March 29, 1944.

There is the public record of Theodore Brameld, who was cited by the Supreme Court as a modern authority on psychology in support of its racial integration decision of May 17, 1954. This record not only was available to Chief Justice Warren and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court upon request, but this record of Brameld was made up partly by an Attorney General who is now a member of the Court which rendered that decision, and by official printed report of the administration of

Chief Justice Warren when he was Governor of the State of California.

E. FRANKLIN PRATZER

Also cited by the Court as one of its modern authorities on psychology to overthrow the accepted meaning of a provision of the United States Constitution was one E. Franklin Pratzer. The files of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives contain 18 citations of Pratzer's connection with Communist causes in the United States.

He signed a statement of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, halting the War Department's order regarding commissions for Communists. The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was cited by the Attorney General in letters furnished the Loyalty Commission on December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948, as subversive and Communist and, now listen, Mr. President, as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program." The special committee in its report of March 29, 1944, cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party." On September 2, 1947, the special committee again cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as among a "mass of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general, but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."

Pratzer was a sponsor of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, which was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

E. Franklin Pratzer published a pamphlet entitled "Seeing Is Believing"

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in 1947, as a member of the Council on African Affairs, Inc., of which he was a member.

The Council on African Affairs, Inc., was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

E. Franklin Pratzer signed an appeal to lift the Spanish embargo sponsored by the Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, as shown by the Daily Worker of February 8, 1939. The Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944.

In 1948, evidence in the House Committee on Un-American Activities showed that Pratzer was a member of the Board of Directors of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy which was cited by the Attorney General as a Communist organization in a letter released April 27, 1949.

The same Pratzer, as a member of the Civil Rights Congress, signed a statement defending the Communist Party, as shown by the Communist Daily Worker, April 16, 1947. The Attorney General cited the Civil Rights Congress as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The Congressional Committee, in its report of September 2, 1947, cited the group as "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it."

Pratzer was named in the Communist Daily Worker of July 18, 1949, as one of the sponsors of a group defending the 13 Communist leaders on trial. The same information appeared on the back of a letterhead of the National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the

12 Communist leaders, dated September 9, 1949; and to the Daily Worker of October 3, 1949.

In 1947, Praxier was a member of the executive board of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. By the Special Committee report of March 22, 1948, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was cited as a Communist front organization; and on June 13, 1947, the Congressional Committee cited the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist front organization "which seeks to attract Southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in Southern Welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

E. Franklin Praxier was a speaker at the Southern Negro Youth Congress, as shown by the Communist Daily Worker of January 23, 1937. The Southern Negro Youth Congress was cited as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, United States of America, which seeks to alter the form of Government of the United States by unconstitutional means. It was thus cited by the Attorney General in a letter released December 4, 1947. The group was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee in its report dated January 3, 1948.

Praxier's name appeared in a published signed statement in the Washington Post on May 19, 1948, as opposing the Mundt-Nixon anti-Communist bill.

E. Franklin Praxier was a member of the Citizens' Committee To Free Earl Browder, which was cited by the Attorney General as Communist, in a letter released April 27, 1948, and previously as shown by the Congressional Record of September 24, 1942. The special committee, in its report of March 29, 1944,

cited the citizens' committee as a Communist-front organization.

Praxier was a sponsor of Social Work Today, in 1940, and he was one of those credited, by its publication in February 1942, as having made it possible for Social Work Today to strengthen and prepare itself for the supreme test. Social Work Today was cited as a Communist "masquerade" by the special committee in its report of March 29, 1944.

E. Franklin Praxier was one of those who signed a statement condemning the "punitive measures directed against the Communist Party," as shown by the Communist Daily Worker of April 18 and 28, 1947.

Praxier wrote the book The Negro in the United States, which was favorably reviewed by the Communist social journals, The Worker and Daily People's World, on May 16, 1949, and July 25, 1949; and his book was advertised in the Communist Workers Book Shop Catalogs for 1949 and 1950. Incidentally, Praxier's Communist officially adopted book The Negro in the United States is the same book which was officially adopted and cited as authority by the United States Supreme Court in its racial integration public-school cases on May 17, 1954.

The same Praxier glorified the brazen Negro Communist Paul Robeson, according to the Communist Daily Worker of November 4, 1949, by stating at a public meeting in Turner's Arena "that in American culture the Negro male has never been permitted to play a masculine role. Robeson represents the Negro man in the masculine role as a fearless and independent thinker."

Praxier was vice chairman of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, which was cited by the congressional committee, in its report of March 28, 1949, as a Communist-front organization.

E. Franklin Praxier was an endorser of the World Peace Appeal, in September

1950; he was a signer of the Stockholm World Appeal to Outlaw Atomic Weapons, in October 1950. The World Peace Appeal was cited as a petition campaign launched by the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress at its meeting in Stockholm, March 16-19, 1950, as having "received the enthusiastic approval of every section of the International Communist hierarchy"; as having been lauded in the Communist press, putting "every individual Communist on notice that he has the duty to rise to this appeal"; and as having "received the official endorsement of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., which has been echoed by the governing bodies of every Communist satellite country, and by all Communist Parties throughout the world." I refer to the congressional committee House report No. 378 on the Communist "peace" offensive, of April 1, 1951.

The same E. Franklin Praxier, according to the Communist official organs, Daily Worker, of October 10, 1950, and the Daily People's World, of October 22, 1950, was a sponsor of the American Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the World Peace Congress. In this connection, his photograph appeared in the Daily People's World. The congressional committee cited the World Peace Congress as a Communist front among the "peace conferences" which "have been organized under Communist initiative in various countries throughout the world as a part of a campaign against the North Atlantic Defense Pact."

Praxier signed a letter by the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, on March 30, 1950.

The congressional committee, in its report on the Communist peace offensive, April 1, 1951, cited the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact as an organization which was formed to further the cause of Communists in the

United States doing their part in the Moscow campaign.

The same E. Franklin Praxier, adopted by the United States Supreme Court as one of its leading modern authorities on psychology, was also a sponsor of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, which the Attorney General cited, in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948, as subversive and Communist, and which the House special committee, in its report on March 29, 1944, cited as a Communist-front organization.

To round out his great career in the Communist cause, the same E. Franklin Praxier, according to the Communist official organ, the Daily Worker of March 5, 1951, signed a letter to President Truman, asking him to recognize the seating of the Communist Peoples Republic of China in the United Nations.

E. Franklin Praxier has been too prominently and frequently connected with Communist and subversive organizations for almost anyone in public life in Washington not to have been put on notice. Certainly, the highest Court of the land was more than careless in defending the Constitution by adopting E. Franklin Praxier as an alleged authority on modern psychology to override and overthrow the fundamental principles of our Constitution.

MYRDAL'S AMERICAN DILEMMA

The Court cited and adopted generally, and without reservation, as its leading authority on modern psychology, Myrdal's book An American Dilemma, when it said—and I quote from Chief Justice Warren's opinion: "And see generally Myrdal, An American Dilemma, 1944."

Let us take a look and see what the Court adopted as its leading authority on modern psychology as the basis for its racial integration decision, when it adopted Myrdal's An American Dilemma.

In 1927 the Carnegie Foundation brought over Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, pro-

tenor in the University of Stockholm. He was described by the corporation as a social economist. He called himself a social engineer. He was a Socialist who had served the Communist cause. He admitted he had no knowledge of the Negro question in the United States. He was hired to make an investigation of race relations in this country; was given an ample staff and funds for that purpose, and was told to publish his findings. On this project Myrdal naturally found himself in the company of those recommended by the Carnegie Foundation, of Alger Hiss fame.

MYRDAL'S CONTEMPT FOR A. A. COWLEY

Myrdal has an utter contempt for the principles upon which the United States was founded and for the political system to which the people adhere. It is incredible that the Supreme Court could have overlooked, if they read it at all, certain remarks that are contained in his book, on which the Court mainly bases its decision. Myrdal stated that the Constitution of the United States was "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions" and its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people." This is purely Communist propaganda, which was cited by the Supreme Court, and on which the Chief Justice of the United States based a very far-reaching decision looking to the destruction of our form of government. I have often wondered what was the source of the pro-Communist influence in the Supreme Court.

Myrdal shows that he did not write the 1,400 page book himself. He hedged himself about with many self-imposed restrictions and "value premises," so that the book has no scientific validity, either from the standpoint of biology, sociology, or psychology.

THE COOPERATIVE SOCIAL EXPERTS

Myrdal shows that his book was the work of several so-called social experts furnished him by the Carnegie Founda-

tion, of Alger Hiss fame. It would be more in keeping with the facts, if, when Myrdal gave the names of most of these Carnegie Foundation "social experts," he had said that they were taken right out of lists of members of Communist and subversive organizations dedicated to the overthrow of our Constitution and the United States Government, because that is the actual fact.

If Chief Justice Warren had only taken the time and trouble to refresh his memory from his own State's officially printed reports and records of his own administration as governor of his own State, he would have found, and he can still find, the names of these Myrdal "social experts" in the fourth report on un-American activities in California, 1946, and the sixth report published in 1951 on Communist front organizations by the Joint Fact-Finding Committee to the 1948 and 1951 regular California Legislature, when the Chief Justice was governor of the State of California.

Certainly Judge Warren cannot claim unfamiliarity with his own State official reports on such an important subject.

I shall give 16 names furnished by the Carnegie Foundation as "social experts" to Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish "social engineer," for the writing of "An American Dilemma" adopted in full by the Court and their Communist connections according to the official 1948 California report, made at the time the Chief Justice was Governor of California.

The tenor of that book is to the effect that the American form of government has outlived its usefulness, and that the Constitution of the United States is a plot against the common people of this country. That was the message of the principal authority relied on by the Chief Justice of the United States in this far-reaching decision.

FRONT AND ORGANIZATIONS

The names and organizations with which the Myrdal advisers were affiliated are as follows:

Frank Ross was 1 of 17 liberal leaders who signed a letter addressed to American Civil Liberties Union, supporting the Soviet Union; chairman of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, successor to the Communist-front, the Scientists' Committee; affiliated with the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; member of the American Committee To Save Refugees; affiliated with American League for Peace and Democracy; member of the National Council of the American Peace Mobilization; affiliated with the Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder; affiliated with Committee To Defend America by Keeping Out of the War; member of the Provisional Committee of the Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America; on advisory board of Plans for Democracy; member of John Reed Clubs; member of National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights; associated with National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; affiliated with People's Peace; supported the Stalin-Roosevelt Committee To Defend America by Keeping Out of War; member of Russian War Relief, Inc.; signer of the statement defending the Communist Party; and listed as a well-known Communist and sponsor of Young People's Records.

All these Frank Ross organizations were shown to be Communist or Communist-front organizations in the official 1948 California report.

W. E. B. DuBois was a member of the National Committee of All-America Anti-Imperialist League; member of the American Committee for Indonesian Independence; affiliated with American League for Peace and Democracy; sponsor of China Conference Arrangements Committee; affiliated with Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder; consultant to Committee for a Democratic Eastern Policy; contributed to the Communist official organ, the Daily Worker; and a

signer of the Golden Book of American Friendship With the Soviet Union.

These organizations are listed as Communist or fronts:

Alain Locke was affiliated with American League for Peace and Democracy; sponsor of China Conference Arrangements Committee; sponsor of Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America; signer of Golden Book of American Friendship With the Soviet Union; among the instructors and guest lecturers of Jefferson School of Social Science; associated with National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; signer of Statement Defending the Communist Party; and member of Board of Sponsors of People's Songs, Inc.

All these are listed as Communist fronts and Communist organizations.

Ira dea Reid was affiliated with American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; affiliated with Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder; member of national board of National Sharecroppers Funds; and affiliated with National Citizens Political Action Committee; American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; American League Against War and Fascism; Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; and Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

All these organizations are listed as Communist or Communist fronts.

Dorsey Wilkerson was consultant to the Committee for a Democratic Eastern Policy, which is listed as a Communist-front organization.

Ruth Benedict, according to the Daily Worker of March 31, 1947, page 11, was the coauthor of a pamphlet The Races of Mankind, which the War Department banned.

Charles S. Johnson was national vice chairman of National Sharecroppers Fund; affiliated with American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born;

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; and Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

These organizations were listed as Communist fronts.

Clark Foreman was one of the initiators of a National Congress on Civil Rights, out of which emerged the Civil Rights Congress; speaker at conference and vice chairman of National Committee To Win the Peace; and vice chairman of Progressive Citizens of America.

These organizations are listed as Communist fronts.

Arthur Hays was a member of national board of National Sharecroppers Fund; affiliated with Council of Young Southerners; League of Young Southerners; and Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

These organizations were listed as Communist fronts.

Levi Webster Jones was national sponsor of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, successor to the discredited Communist front, the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Rose Nelson was listed as Communist or Communist fellow-traveler, and textbook writer for use in public schools.

Sterling Brown was affiliated with League of American Writers, which is a Communist-front organization.

Eveline Burns was listed as Communist, textbook writer, and member of Citizens' Committee for Better Education, a Communist front.

Thomas Jones was advocate of United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, cited as a Communist-front organization.

T. Arnold Hill was coauthor-sponsor of Social Work Today which is a Communist periodical.

One of the so-called social scientists who also contributed to the writing Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* adopted by the Supreme Court as its authority on modern psychology, was none other than E. Franklin Frazier,

whose 18 Communist organizations connections I have already given.

An American Dilemma was written in largest part by American Communist front members, such as E. Franklin Frazier, who contributed to 28 portions of the book, and W. E. B. DuBois, who contributed to 23 different portions of the book. Altogether the Communist front members identified with Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* contributed to 272 different articles and portions of the book officially adopted by the Communist Party and by the Supreme Court as its authority for its racial integration decision of May 17, 1954.

That is the true picture presented by an analysis from the records of the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the school segregation cases.

How can the Court expect the American people to accept its decision to change the accepted meaning of the fundamental principles of our Constitution when its decision is contrary to every other decision of the United States Supreme Court on the same question, and when its decision is now based on its adoption of members of Communist organizations and Communist writings as its authority to change fundamental principles of the Constitution?

This same Gunnar Myrdal has recently appeared in the news as directing the staff of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe in the preparation of a report regarding the foreign operation of the American Oil Industry. Myrdal's Commission feels that American oil companies "overcharged" their European customers for Middle Eastern oil, and hinted that some sort of international price control is the indicated remedy.

SATURDAY EVENING POST COMMENT ON MYRDAL
The Saturday Evening Post comments editorially that Myrdal is a Swedish Socialist. I quote:

The author of a report on the race problem in the United States. In the course of

this "monumental work" Myrdal described the adoption of the United States Constitution as "nearly a plot against the common people." It asks, is Myrdal the best authority a U. S. agency could rely on for a complicated study of the oil industry?

It is a tragic commentary on the intelligence and judgment of the members of the United States Supreme Court that they would override the Constitution on the alleged evidence and opinion of such a "psychological" authority. It is the final indication as to the degree and extent that the Court has been "brainwashed" by pressure groups and is willing to sacrifice the people, the Constitution, and established law to communistic and socialistic dogma and principles.

Mr. President, it is evident that the decision of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases was based upon the writings and teachings of pro-Communist agitators and other enemies of the American form of government. The Chief Justice of the United States actually cites as authority for his decision a book, the thesis of which is that the Constitution of the United States is "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions" and its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people." Our country has come to a sorry state of affairs when the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, speaking for all the members of the Court, should cite, as his authority for a decision, a book compiled by an alien who advocates the destruction of the American form of government—the very form of government which this Chief Justice and this Court are sworn to uphold.

SOUTH WILL NOT OBEY DECISION
Mr. President, the question is asked, Will the South obey this decision of the 540518-44674

Supreme Court? Who is obligated morally or legally to obey a decision whose authority rests not upon the law but upon the writings and teachings of pro-Communist agitators and people who have a long record of affiliations with anti-American causes and with agitators who are part and parcel of the Communist conspiracy to destroy our country? From the beginning of the Republic, the Judiciary, the Congress, the executive branch of the Government, and all the States have recognized that a State has the power under the Constitution to segregate children in its schools because of race. The Supreme Court of the United States has consistently so held throughout the years. Any person is credulous indeed to believe that a State will permit all this to be swept aside by a Court who relies for its authority not upon the law but upon pro-Communist agitators and enemies of our system of government.

Mr. President, for the welfare of America, the resolution to investigate this setup should be adopted.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I wish to join the Senator from Mississippi in sponsoring the resolution.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the distinguished Senator from South Carolina (Mr. JOHNSTON) be added as a co-sponsor of the resolution.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. I make the request in view of the fact that the Subcommittee on Internal Security has been making a study of the subject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.



FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
AND
PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT 105-144-32909

FILE NUMBER 105-144-32909

SECTION NUMBER 2



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

RICHMOND

REPORT MADE AT NORFOLK, VIRGINIA	DATE WHEN MADE 12/15/55	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 11/8, 28, 29, 30/55 11/19/55	REPORT MADE BY WMB:slf
TITLE DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - X

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Norfolk, South Norfolk Chapters of Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties (DSSIL) has sponsored open meetings at which J. SEGAR GRAVATT, Judge, Trial Justice Court, Nottoway County, Va., and WALDEMAR E. DEBNAM, Author and Lecturer, appeared as guest speakers at respective places. At Norfolk meeting WILLIAM J. STORY, Superintendent, South Norfolk Schools, GEORGE PARKER, Commonwealth Attorney, Southampton County, Va., WILLIAM I. MC KENDREE, President of Mc Kendree Company, J. SEGAR GRAVATT, COLLINS DENNY, Richmond Attorney, and FRANK R. FORD, Norfolk Jeweler, served on a panel forum. J. H. BLOODWORTH is manager of Tidewater Realty Co., Norfolk, Va. Dr. LINWOOD BRANCH is a respected veterinarian of Franklin, Va.

DETAILS:

On November 28, 1955, the library of the Norfolk Newspaper Company was checked for articles on the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties (DSSIL). An article was noted in the Ledger-Dispatch dated September 20, 1955. This article was captioned "Defenders Meet On Southside." There was

AGENCY **240-06, G-2, OSI, ONI**
 REQ. REC'D
 DATE FORW. **12/23/55**
 HOW FORW. **RS**
 BY **[Signature]**

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES DESTROYED 292 APR 14 1972 Please see page two.		INDEXED-68 105-22909-16 RECORDED-68 8 DEC 17 1955

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DEC 27 1955

NF 105-236

C O P I E S

- (6) - Bureau (105-32909) (REGISTERED MAIL)
- 2 - Richmond (105-405) (REGISTERED MAIL)
- 1 - ONI, 5th ND (REGISTERED MAIL)
- 1 - OSI, LAFB (REGISTERED MAIL)
- 1 - G-2, Norfolk (REGISTERED MAIL)
- 2 - Norfolk (105-236)

DEFENSE OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY

VA a photograph and the persons appearing were described as HARVEY E. WHITE, JR., Norfolk Attorney and Defender Leader; WILLIAM B. COCKE, Clerk of the Court of Sussex County and Defender State Secretary; Judge J. SEGAR GRAVATT of Nottoway County, Speaker; F. RAY MORRISON, South Norfolk Chapter President. According to the article Rev. FRANK HUGHES, JR., Pastor of the South Norfolk Baptist Church, gave the invocation. Judge GRAVATT was introduced by WILLIAM B. COCKE and about 60 persons braved hurricane weather to attend the meeting. The article indicated that Judge GRAVATT urged the people to resist integration of the races.

DEFENSE OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY

VA An article appeared in the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot dated September 30, 1955, which reflected that WALDEMAR E. DEBNAM of Raleigh, North Carolina, an author and lecturer, spoke before a capacity crowd of 1850 persons at the Norfolk Municipal Auditorium on September 29, 1955, in behalf of the DSSIL. The meeting was begun by an invocation by Rev. WILLIAM H. BROOKS, Pastor of the Campestella Heights Baptist Church. The article reflected that President of the Norfolk Chapter was C. F. RADCLIFF. The speaker of the evening was introduced by HARVEY WHITE, JR., Chairman of VA the Program Committee.

DEFENSE OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY

VA According to the article the program consisted of a panel forum after the speech of Mr. DEBNAM. Members of the forum were WILLIAM J. STORY, Superintendent of South Norfolk Schools; GEORGE PARKER, Commonwealth Attorney, Southampton County, Virginia; WILLIAM L. MC KENDREE, President of Mc Kendree Company; Judge J. SEGAR GRAVATT, Justice of Trial Justice Court, Nottoway County, and a member of the Board of Visitors of the University of Virginia; COLLINS DENNY, a Richmond Attorney; FRANK R. FORD, a Norfolk Jeweler.

A paid advertisement appearing in the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot dated October 24, 1955, signed a Defender of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, began by stating that a great deal had been written over the past 16 months about the massive error committed by the United States Supreme Court in May of 1954. In its two decisions of May 17, 1954, the Court took away the Tenth Amendment, rewrote the Fourteenth Amendment, and usurped the prerogatives of Congress in administration of the District of Columbia. The article continued by stating that relatively little had been said of the Court's second mistake which was a mistake of tactics in that the idea was to integrate the schools over a period of 12 months. This would allow opposition to the integration to calm down, thus allowing for a cooling off period. The article indicated that instead of cooling off opponents have rallied until there are now about 30 chapters of DSSL in Virginia with a membership of more than 5,000 persons. It was predicted that other chapters would be established in Brunswick, Louisa, and Culpeper Counties. The article continued by stating in Mississippi citizens' councils were providing a powerful force against the well-disciplined NAACP. The article indicated that day by day the opposition to mixed schools is growing stronger and more effective and that "We can say now to the NAACP it will have to fight a hundred times harder for each inch of ground that it gains, and we can say to the Supreme Court with more than mere bravado the South has just begun to fight."

The November 15, 1955, issue of the Virginian-Pilot contained an advertisement entitled "One Happy Subject Or A Free People?". This advertisement contained a blank titled, "Join Defenders Now. Mail Today To Box 1503, Norfolk, Virginia." The advertisement urged people to join free men and women determined to retain their great heritage.

MEMBER DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES

1A The November 20, 1955, issue of the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot contained an article by-lined Richmond, Virginia, dated November 19, 1955, entitled "Defenders Come Of Age In Fight For Segregation." "No Klu Klux Klanism." This article indicated that the WILLIAM G. MAXEY who had given up the Commissioner of Revenue's job in Powhatan County to be full time Executive Secretary of the Defenders, had stated that "We have survived the period of lethargy." "At first people were suspicious and didn't want to even talk about joining up. Now they are coming to us asking what they can do and how they can join the fight." The article indicated that recruiting members at \$10.00 a head had begun after a charter had been issued by the State Corporation Commission, and that

thirteen months later the Defenders counted chapters in 8 cities and 24 counties, including units in Arlington and Fairfax Counties and that membership is somewhere between 8,000 or 9,000 and that the bulk of the membership is in the Southside. The article indicated that the Defenders' leaders are opposed to any form of racial integration or permitting certain areas of The Old Dominion to lower the separation curtain. The article indicated that COLLINS DENNY, JR., a Richmond Attorney, stated that if people who favor segregation will show sufficient conviction that integration is evil then he believed "We will continue to have segregation some way." DENNY stated, "We are going to do all we can to keep our units at a local level in the hands of the people who are not excitable. We value the dignity of the individual and aren't given to childish actions. We must have nothing in Virginia which even the NAACP in its wildest imagination can seize upon as an act of violence."

VA. An article appeared in the Journal and Guide newspaper dated September 24, 1955, Norfolk, reflecting that Rev. A. E. JOHNSON, President of the South Norfolk Branch of the NAACP had attacked the DSSIL as being opposed to NAACP in every way. He claimed that the group was dedicated to inciting race hatred, violence, and non-compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

An article appearing in the Virginian-Pilot on October 26, 1955, indicated that Judge J. SEGAR GRAVATT spoke to a group of 300 persons at a rally at Granby High School, date not given. According to the article the speech was given under the auspices of the DSSIL. He urged the group to oppose and rebel against the Supreme Court decision on segregation. He claimed that integration would destroy the public school system in Virginia. GRAVATT urged the whites and Negroes alike to preserve the races by refusing to allow intermingling. He claimed that he was not preaching prejudices, white supremacy or hatred.

On November 8, 1955, [redacted] (NA), Franklin, Virginia, advised SA [redacted] that Dr. LINWOOD BRANCH was a native born Virginian, and a respected veterinarian. [redacted] stated that Dr. BRANCH was a white male, about 45 years of age, had a wife and one daughter. He had been a life-long resident in the vicinity of Franklin, Virginia. [redacted]

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[redacted] Suffolk, Virginia, advised SA [redacted]
on November 8, 1955, [redacted] Dr.
LINWOOD BRANCH in her files.

JAMES H. BLOODWORTH

(A) On November 29, 1955, a search of the 1955 Norfolk
City Directory was made and it was determined that the name J. H.
BLOODWORTH was listed as Manager of Tidewater Realty Company,
home address 8015 East Glen Road. His wife's name is given as
[redacted] Norfolk City Directory listed Tidewater Realty Company's
address as 4133 Granby Street. A. E. [redacted] 1955

[redacted] advised
SP [redacted] on November 29, 1955, that JAMES H. BLOODWORTH's

10/10

ALL

[redacted] that he was a white American 42-45 years old,
had two children and was employed as Manager of Tidewater Realty
Company. His home address was given as 8015 East Glen Road. His
previous employment was given as with Armour and Company and Swift
and Company.

[redacted]

On November 30, 1955, [redacted]
[redacted] advised that he was not acquainted with J. H.
BLOODWORTH and that he had heard nothing concerning his connection
with DSSIL. MEMBER, DSSIL : *SEE SOVEREIGNTY AND INTERNAL LIFE*

(A) On November 19, 1955, [redacted]
[redacted] appeared at the Norfolk Office and advised that he was a member
of the DSSIL and stated that this group was very anti-communist
in nature and objectives. [redacted] furnished an article which
is entitled "A Short Article On Soviet Genetics." He stated that
he and an associate had [redacted] a number
of copies of this article and was furnishing it to each member
of the State General Assembly. This article apparently is meant
to indicate that the Russians destroyed those scientists who
believe in the Mendelin Genetics Theory in order to elevate to a
post of science a false ideology dedicated to the specific cause

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of world-wide Communism. This theory would attract the greatest possible participation and aid in a conquest and Communist domination.

- P -

- 6 -

'A Campaign of Confusion'

Fenwick Says Foes Are Spreading Fear

Arlington State Sen. Charles R. Fenwick, chief Northern Virginia proponent of the controversial Gray plan to avoid forced public school de-segregation, today charged unfair tactics by the opposition.

Mr. Fenwick put out a press release calling upon the plan's foes "to give voters accurate, factual information, so they can make up their minds on the merits of the case."

THE FACTS

In most instances, he said, campaigners against the plan "raise every imaginable reason why it won't work, instead of giving facts to the people."

"They wage a campaign of confusion, fear and doubt, in an attempt to influence the voter before he has an opportunity to understand the issues."

He particularly attacked such slogans as "Save Our Schools" and talk of "grants for the rich," as "designed to appeal to the emotions."

TWO COMMITTEES

Mr. Fenwick's "slogan" attack apparently referred to two Northern Virginia groups fighting the Gray plan which call themselves "Save Our Schools Committees." One is in Fairfax County and the other is in Falls Church.

His "grants for the rich" complaint has to do with proposed tuition grants for children whose parents refuse to let them attend de-segregated schools.

A Jan. 19 referendum will approve or disapprove a convention to amend Virginia's constitution so such tuition grants can be made. Privileged white children, it is felt, would receive the grants.

STANLEY STATEMENT

Meanwhile, Virginia's Gov. Thomas B. Stanley put out a statement in answer to demands for assurance that the state's school system will be preserved under the Gray plan.

He made no promises about other segregation legislation he will sponsor if the voters give a "go" signal for a constitutional amendment, but did say he will recommend strongly to the legislature that "he constitutional guarantee for preservation of

public education in Virginia be maintained."

OTHER DEVELOPMENTS

• Over a hundred persons attending a meeting of the Fairfax Committee for the Constitutional Convention to Prevent Integration applauded as former Falls Church city attorney Lytton Gibson and former state Sen. John W. Rust criticized the clergy in the state for taking a stand on the Gray plan. Most of the clergy has been against the plan.

• The Springfield Citizens Association (500 members) came out against the Gray plan and urged that "thinking citizens whether intergrationists, segregationists or neutrals vote against the convention on Jan. 9."

• Mayor Marshall J. Beverley of Alexandria said 50 persons there have formed a Citizens Committee for the Gray plan. He said the group will campaign house to house.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mason _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Parsons _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Nease _____
Mr. Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

NOT RECORDED
126 JAN 10 1956

Wash. Post and Times Herald _____
Wash. News _____
Wash. Star _____
N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
N. Y. Mirror _____
N. Y. Daily News _____
Daily Worker _____
The Worker _____
New Leader _____

Date DEC 29 1955

66 JAN 1 1956

**"DEFENDERS OF STATE
SOVEREIGNTY
AND
INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES"**

1/6/93 1048/196

405-A EAST FRANKLIN STREET
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

"Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties"



Chartered in Virginia on October 26, 1954



WE ARE

Non-Profit
Non-Political

WE BELIEVE

In the Sovereignty of the Several States;

In certain liberties for the individual citizens of these states;

In the preservation of racial integrity;

In an education for all children;

In a society based on racial separateness;

In the separation of church and state;

In the precious heritage handed down to us by our forefathers;

Very sincerely, that our objectives are in the best interest of both races.

WE INTEND

To use every lawful, honorable and peaceful means to maintain the above principles;

To inform the people as to their inherent rights;

To give the best possible leadership to the thousands of people in Virginia who feel as we do, and who will unite with us.

We have thousands of members from all parts of the state. Included in this membership are U. S. Congressmen, many members of our State Legislature, County and City officials, Judges, lawyers, doctors, ministers, educators, other leading business and professional men and women, housewives and people from all walks of life.

If you believe in these principles and would like to join us, or if you desire more information, fill out the enclosed card and mail to your local Chapter or to William E. Maxey, Jr., P. O. Box 1916, Richmond 19, Virginia. We will be pleased to furnish you with applications and material.

OFFICERS



Robert B. Crawford.....President
Farmville, Virginia

Wm. B. Cocke, Jr.....1st Vice-President
Sussex, Virginia

C. F. Radcliff.....2nd Vice-President
Franklin Building, Norfolk, Virginia

James S. Easley.....3rd Vice-President
South Boston, Virginia

Mrs. Charles W. Reynolds.....Secretary
5902 Morningside Drive, Richmond 26, Virginia

E. Floyd Yates.....Treasurer
Powhatan, Virginia

Collins Denny, Jr.....Counsel
1300 Travelers Building, Richmond 19 Virginia

The Rev. John J. Howard.....Chaplain
Blackstone, Virginia

William E. Maxey, Jr.....Executive Director
405-A East Franklin Street, Richmond, Virginia
Telephone 7-3013

165-35000 27

FOR STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES:

THE DEFENDERS

INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/6/93 BY 1045/DK/6

Last year, shortly after the controversial Supreme Court decision of May 17, a group of disturbed Virginians in the Fourth Congressional District got together. Individually, each had already been concerned over the Federal Government's increasing encroachment on state sovereignty. But the May 17 edict was the proverbial last straw and they swung into action.

On October 26, as a result of this, the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties was incorporated. Stressing their stand on state sovereignty, the charter members also emphasized that, far from holding any hatred for the Negro, they would work for the benefit of both races and that they were by no means advocating the abolition of education.

Their creed is expressed in a brochure which was prepared towards their goal of a local chapter in every county and city.

conscience to employ every lawful means to defend and perpetuate them, to the end that this Republic may continue and prosper.



(Thomas Studios)

ROBERT B. CRAWFORD

The Defenders were not surprised at the implementing decision handed down by the Supreme Court, but they were amazed by the assurances of some of their own citizenry that there was all the time in the world to chart Virginia's course. The "extreme" emergency, they believed, called for "extreme" action and, after time had further revealed the attitudes on both sides, they presented to the people of the Commonwealth A PLAN FOR VIRGINIA.

Essentially, with their expressed fear of racial integration, their goal had been, from the beginning to educate the people of Virginia, white and colored, in the fundamental principles of the Federal government and the ultimate end of the Court's edict. Now, they set forth a constructive guide for their state.

First of all, they recommended that the governor call a special session of the General Assembly before the middle of July so that amendments to the state constitution could be dealt with in the 1956 General Assembly. The emergency existed because after August 1, the constitution could not be amended by the procedure which gives the people a right to vote until 1958. Obviously, this means a delay of three school sessions.

They called on the General Assembly to initiate procedures to amend Section 129 of the constitution to give itself expressly the power to adopt laws necessary for the welfare of the people in relation to the schools.

They suggested an amendment to Sections 134 and 141 of Chapter IX of the constitution to remove any

doubt that, in case of necessity, state and local monies could be used to pay the tuition and school expenses in private schools of children in localities (such as Prince Edward) where closing public schools was necessary.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION OUT

Recommending that all mention of compulsory education be taken out of our law, they also recommended that the General Assembly enact laws to prevent the expenditure of public monies, state and local, in support and maintenance of racially mixed public schools.

The Defenders called upon public servants and aspirants to public service to state their views openly and also to meet the responsibilities of leadership by giving advice to Virginians. They feel that the "Commonwealth of Virginia has a right now to expect of every one of her sons and daughters who may have any proposal to make by which we can preserve our way of life, that he speak."

Their own proposals, the Defenders believe, do not mean death to the public schools. On the contrary, the only hope for public schools lies in their adoption. But the public school system, as we have known it, cannot be preserved. Only one of two public school systems can exist: an integrated public school system, which the people of Virginia will not accept, or a segregated public school system. This would not be segregated by law and state compulsion but by the good sense of the white and colored of the state. To attempt to compromise between the segregated school and the integrated school is not to compromise. It is to accept the integrated school and no system of public schools not approved of by the people can exist.

"If it be said that the NAACP will not consent to the maintenance of the separate school, but will excite some ill-advised Negroes to apply for admission to the white schools, and thereby cause the school to be closed, or that one of that . . . little group of white persons who fraternize with the NAACP will sacrifice his child by seeking his admission to the Negro school and thereby cause the school to lose, we admit that possibility. Virginians do not choose, however, to be ruled by such elements. If that happens those schools will close. They will regret that the Negroes for whom they have done much will no longer receive their help, but that will

WE BELIEVE

That, the Constitution establishing a Republic of the Several States of America gave certain enumerated powers to the Federal Government and expressly reserved the remainder of the powers to the several states;

That, the clauses delegating authority to the Federal Government should be strictly construed, and always against the extension of Federal powers, and in favor of the states which compose this Union;

That, each state can best protect the rights and provide for the well-being of the citizens within its jurisdiction;

That, government of one or several of the individual states by the whole is contra to the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States of America;

That, private enterprise by free individuals is the cornerstone of our Republic;

That, concentration of power is one of the greatest internal dangers facing this nation today;

That, the powers and authority of the Federal Government should be strictly separated, and that domestic legislation by decree, judicial decision, treaty, executive fiat, or administrative order is foreign to the Constitution and an encroachment on the inalienable powers and authority of the several states and the Congress of the United States of America;

That, attempts to change the lawful manner, mores, and traditions of any state of these United States of America by any branch of the Federal Government is an infringement of the sovereignty of the states composing this Union;

That, the right to determine segregation of the races is a power reserved to the states;

That, those citizens, composing this nation, who believe in the principles cited above, are duty bound in good

be at the wish of their leaders. We will care for our own and they will care as best they can for theirs, each assisted by the same help from public funds to the extent that help is sought and within the limits of available



(Foster Studio)

WILLIAM E. MAXEY, JR.

funds. We do not believe many schools will close before our Negro citizens, fine as most of them are, will see to it that their people throw off the leadership of these radicals who have done so much to destroy good race relations, and together we can put our educational system on a firm and lasting basis. If our belief in that respect be not sustained we will put other schools for our children on a firm and lasting basis and let the Negroes do with theirs as they will."

With their goal of a local chapter for every city and county in the state, the Defenders now have 27 chapters. In 52 counties and cities, the membership is from six to eight thousand.

The Defenders are proud of their leadership. Original directors are Valentine Southall, Amelia Court House; Charles T. Moses, Appomattox; Thomas B. Hall, Jr., Buckingham; William F. Daniel, Jr., Keyesville; Reuben S. Johns, Cumberland; Frank E. Jones, Dinwiddie; R. MacLin Smith, Kenbridge; R. L. Millions, South Hill; Ben T. Kensey, Jr., Petersburg; R. B. Crawford, Farmville; Raymond H. Boelt, Powhatan, and W. B. Cocke, Jr., Sussex.

Officers are Mr. Crawford, president; C. D. Jones, La Crosse, vice-president; Mr. Cocke, secretary, and E. Floyd Yates, Powhatan, treasurer. William E. Maxey, Richmond, is executive director with offices in the Travelers Building. Collins Denny, Jr. is counsel.

ROBERT B. CRAWFORD

A native of Augusta County, Mr. Crawford attended Augusta Military Academy and Virginia Polytechnic Institute and is a veteran of World War I.

In community affairs he has served as president of the Farmville Rotary Club, chairman of the school board, president of the School Trustee Association of Virginia and president of the Southside Community Hospital. He is presently a member of the Virginia Division of the American Cancer Society and has been, since 1944, a member of the board of directors of the Automobile Club of Virginia.

He is a member of the board of directors of the Piedmont Area Council of the Boy Scouts of America and holds the highest Scout leadership award, the Silver Beaver.

Widely recognized in his field of business as owner and operator of the Kilkare Laundry in Farmville, he has served as past president of the Virginia Laundry and Dry Cleaners Association and of the Tri-State Laundry Owners Association. He has been Department Commander and national committeeman and is currently chairman of the American Legion Legislative Committee.

William E. Maxey resigned as commissioner of revenue in Powhatan County to become executive director of the Defenders. A native of Powhatan County, he was educated in the public schools there. During World War II he served three years in the Army, two of them in the European Theater.

He is president of the Powhatan Parent-Teachers Association, county chairman of the American Red Cross, and past master of Powhatan Lodge No. 295, AF&AM. He also is a 32nd degree Scottish Rite Mason and a Shriner. He is a member of the Powhatan Ruritan Club and a gunnery officer in a heavy mortar company in a National Guard unit. Maxey is married and has two children, a boy, seven, and a girl, four.

Clifton Davis Jones, the vice-president, was born in October, 1907, in La Crosse and has lived in Mecklenburg County all his life. He finished high school at La Crosse in 1926 and attended Smithdeal Business College. In December, 1927, he went to work for Cleaton Hardware Co., and in 1932 went into the general merchandise business for himself. He has served on the Mecklenburg County School Board for eight years, and on the Town Council for three terms. He is now serving as a member of the Mecklenburg County Electoral School Board.

W. B. Cocke, Jr. was born in Sussex County in 1910, educated in county public schools, Fork Union Military Academy, University of Richmond and Stetson University. He is a farmer, a Democrat and at present serves as clerk of the Circuit Court of Sussex County.

E. Floyd Yates was born in Charles City County and moved to Powhatan County in 1927. He operates a Ford Automobile dealership, a Ford farm

machinery store and is a wholesale distributor for gasoline and oil. He was a member of the Virginia State Legislature for 12 years and president of many civic and community organizations, such as Red Cross, PTA, and



(Reese Studio)

WILLIAM B. COCKE, JR.

others. He has been a member of County Board of Supervisors, a substitute trial justice, a district governor of Ruritan and is now a member of the Board of Directors of the Bank of Powhatan and state president of the Virginia Wildlife Federation.

Collins Denny, Jr., counsel for the Defenders was born in Nashville in 1889, the son of Collins Denny who became later Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. He attended Chamberlayne School, Richmond, and Mercersburg Academy, Mercersburg, Pa. He received his B.A. degree from Princeton in 1921 and his LL.B. from the University of Richmond in 1924, in which year he began the practice of law.

He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa and Phi Delta Phi fraternities, a member of the Richmond, state and American Bar Associations. He served as 2nd Lieutenant in the army during the first World War.

He married Rebecca Smith Miller, of Culpeper, in 1932, and has two sons, one a senior at Princeton and the other studying at Woodberry Forest. From 1930 to 1934, Mr. Denny was assistant attorney general of Virginia.

He is a member of the Commonwealth Club and the Country Club and lives at Monocan Farm, Middlethorpe.

Presenting what is believed to be the only constructive plan, the Defenders "pledge to His Excellency the Governor, to the General Assembly and to the people of Virginia our support of this program, or, if someone can advance a better, which will also preserve education in Virginia and which will prevent the mixing of the races, we will give our support to it."

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: 6/19/56

✓ FROM : SAC, Norfolk (105-242)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCIL
STATES' RIGHTS MOV. ENTS
IS-X

On June 6, 1956, [redacted] of this Office, advised that [redacted] Birmingham, Alabama, has an appointment to speak before the Arlington, Virginia, chapter of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties on June 13, 1956, time and place of meeting undetermined by informant. Informant advised that [redacted]

[redacted] He also advises that he does not know who arranged for [redacted] appearance in Arlington, Virginia, but states that the President of the Chapter is JACK RATEBONE.

Informant also advised that he has learned that the Cadmus Book Store, Georgetown, Washington, D.C., is forming a White Citizens Council group in Washington, D.C. Informant states that he has no further information on the Cadmus Book Store.

- 2 - Bureau (Registered Mail)
- 2 - Richmond (info) (Registered Mail)
- 2 - Birmingham (info) (Registered Mail)
- 2 - Washington Field (info) (Registered Mail)
- 3 - Norfolk (105-242 - Citizens Councils and States' Rights Movements)
- (105-236 - Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties)

FAC:ajd
(11)

RECORDED
INDEXED - 57

105-32909-28
JUL 10 1956
[Signature]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NORFOLK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN RICHMOND	DATE DEC 21 1956	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 11/23/56
TITLE OF CASE DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES		REPORT MADE BY [Redacted]	TYPED BY STW
		CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - X	

1/22/93 *PRIORE/DEM*

SYNOPSIS:

Suffolk, Va. newspaper carried an advertisement regarding a 5/29/56 meeting of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties. Six hundred persons attended this meeting according to the newspaper. Norfolk, Va., news article sets forth aims of DSS & IL. Confidential Informant advised WILLIAM S. STEPHENSON spoke at Defenders meeting 5/10/56 at Norfolk and at Highland Springs, Va. meeting 7/12/56. Norfolk newspaper on 6/12/56 carried application for membership in DSS & IL. Norfolk holder of DSS & IL Post Office Box determined to be [Redacted] Norfolk newspaper carried article 8/18/56 reflecting DSS & IL had circulated petition in Norfolk - Portsmouth area requesting Governor of Virginia to prevent racially mixed schools.

DETAILS: **AT NORFOLK, VIRGINIA**

A one-eighth page advertisement referring to a meeting of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties (DSS & IL) which was to be held 5/29/56 appeared in the Suffolk News Herald

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
COPIES MADE:		RECORDED - 84
6 - Bureau (105-32909) (Registered) 1 - ONI; 5ND (Registered) 1 - OSI; Langley AFB (Registered) 1 - G-2, Norfolk (Registered) 3 - Richmond (105-405) (1 CIC Richmond) (Registered) 2 - Norfolk (105-236)		105-32909-32 4 DEC 28 1956 INDEXED - EX-10

COPIES DESTROYED

292 APR 14 1972

issue of 5/27/56. This meeting was to be held at the Isle of Wight Courthouse School Auditorium. The advertisement mentioned that if one favored continued operation of segregated schools in Isle of Wight County they should attend the meeting. COLLINS DENNY, JR. was listed as the speaker.

The Suffolk News Herald is a daily newspaper of general circulation published at Suffolk, Virginia.

The 5/30/56 issue of the Suffolk News Herald carried an article which reflected that on 5/29/56 over 600 persons gathered at the Isle of Wight Courthouse School to form the 60th Chapter of the DSS & IL. According to the article State Senator MILLS GODWIN, JR. of Chuckatuck, Virginia, was the main speaker.

On 5/31/56 an article appeared in the Norfolk Virginian Pilot which reflected that Chapter 60 of the DSS & IL had been formed in Isle of Wight County. The article mentioned that GEORGE F. WHITLEY, JR., Isle of Wight County Trial Justice, had been elected President. The Defenders favor a "society based on segregation of the races" according to the article. The following officers were elected at the meeting:

Vice Chairman - DOW KEELING
Treasurer - FRANCIS JOYNER
Corresponding Secretary - DORIS B. GARRISON
Recording Secretary - H. W. LOVE

The Norfolk Virginian Pilot is a daily newspaper of general circulation published at Norfolk, Virginia.

Confidential Informant [] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on May 17, 1956 that on 5/10/56 WILLIAM SCOTT STEPHENSON was a guest speaker at the Thole Street School, Norfolk, where he spoke to a group of approximately 120 persons who were according to [] members of DSS & IL.

On 7/18/56 Confidential Informant [] advised that WILLIAM S. STEPHENSON had spoken before a Defenders group at Highland Springs, Virginia on 7/12/56 at the American Legion Hall. [] stated that this meeting was sponsored by the DSS & IL and not by the American Legion. [] could furnish no information as to the number of persons in attendance at this meeting.

On 5/12/56 the Norfolk Ledger Dispatch carried an application for the DSS & IL. The application urged individuals to join the organization and to submit \$10 for one year membership. The application carried a return address of Box 1503, Norfolk, Virginia. The application in part stated: "I believe that segregation of the races is the right of the State government; in the sovereignty of the several states and in the freedom of the individual from government controls." The Norfolk Ledger Dispatch is a daily newspaper of general circularization published at Norfolk.

On 6/19/56 Confidential Informant [] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that he had learned that Post Office Box 1503, Norfolk, had been issued to [] who resides at [] Norfolk. [] advised that he had also learned that the box was desired for the use of a political organization.

On 7/11/56, Confidential Informant [] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that he had learned that one HUNTER BLOODWORTH whom he described as a local real estate agent, was the Secretary of the Norfolk Chapter of DSS & IL. [] stated that he had observed a membership card which contained the above information but [] was not able to advise as to the actual chapter number of the card that he had seen. b2 b7C b7D

On 8/1/56 Confidential Informant [] furnished a copy of an application blank for DSS & IL which is being maintained as an exhibit by the Norfolk Division.

On 8/18/56 the Norfolk Virginian Pilot carried an article headlined "Anti Integration Plea Circulated by Defenders." The article was datelined Portsmouth, Virginia, and reflected that the Portsmouth - Norfolk County Chapter of the DSS & IL had been circulating petitions in the Norfolk - Portsmouth area requesting Governor STANLEY of Virginia and the General Assembly to prevent racially mixed schools anywhere in Virginia." The article reflected that no one would be pressured into signing the petitions and a spokesman for the organization advised that 97% of the persons contacted had willingly signed the petitions.

The Newport News Daily Press issue of 8/22/56 carried an article which reflected that the Gloucester Chapter of the DSS & IL had scheduled an open meeting to be held 8/23/56 at the Gloucester High School Auditorium. The main speaker was to be Judge J. SEGAR GRAVATT, Nottoway County Judge.

NF 105-236

The Newport News Daily Press is a daily newspaper of general circularization.

The 9/9/56 issue of the Virginian Pilot carried an article which reflected that the President of the Portsmouth Chapter of the DSS & IL, HUNTER G. WEBB, had accused the Portsmouth School Board of exercising "the very poorest judgment" in publicity announcing its opposition to Governor STANLEY's plan to withhold funds from any Virginia public school that integrates the races.

- PRC -



United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Richmond, Virginia

May 15, 1997

CIVILIAN COUNCIL

11-2-97
10:25 PM
[Signature]

Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties

"The Defenders' News and Views", April 1997 issue, Volume 8, No. 4, published by the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, 405-A East Franklin Street, Richmond, Virginia, covers almost the entire four pages of this issue to a summary of activities at the first State Convention of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties (DSSIL) held at Richmond, Virginia, March 22 and 23, 1997. In an article captioned "More Than 700 Attend First Convention" it is related that the principal speakers at the convention were Representative JOHN HENRY WILLIAMS of Mississippi, Congressman WILLIAM M. RYAN of Virginia, and Representative HERBERT M. AEBERS of Virginia. The substance of the statements related by these speakers has previously been reported in our summary concerning DSSIL dated April 15, 1997.

A column on Page 2 of the April issue of the above publication captioned "Saturday Morning Session" is quoted as follows:

"The principal speaker at the evening session on Saturday morning was Brigadier General DONALD WILLIAMS (USA Ret) General WILLIAMS, in expressing his concern over the future of our country said that the business of making alliances with foreign nations 'is a stuporous thing called world leadership'. The result is that we have the tyranny of big government which overrules the states.'

"As quoted from former President HERBERT HOOVER who once said that the Declaration of Independence, our Constitution and the Bible provide ample guidance for the American People. 'In shaping their Declaration of Independence and the Constitution,' said WILLIAMS, 'our forefathers sought and received divine guidance. Both of these instruments reflect Christendom in its purest form. These two great documents breathe the very essence of human liberty. They guard and safeguard us against every Old World evil from which our ancestors fled Europe: Barbaric Military Oppression, Entangling Alliances, Intolerable European Wars, Conflatory Taxes, Debtors Prisons, The Tyranny of Big Government.'

ENCLOSURE

"For a century and a half 'the American people, under the protection and guidance of our Constitution, rose to the greatest power on earth. At the same time they enjoyed the blessings of liberty to an extent never before known by any people anywhere.'

"Then 'somehow foreign teaching began to creep into our government. The Constitution was branded as old fashioned. The Supreme Court was picked. Big government began to lay hands upon the rights reserved for the States and the People by the Constitution.'

"General FILLIAM said that as a consequence of this departure from the Constitution, 'the American People now suffer from every evil from which our Forefathers fled Europe. The freedoms for which our Ancestors fought and you are disappearing before our eyes. We now have: Universal Military Conscription, Bunking Alliances, Rapes in International Foreign Bars, Guns are Confidential, Big Game Land to Prison, The Tyranny of Big Government is upon us.'

" 'Here we,' he asked, 'the character of our Forefathers to liberate ourselves from these evils?'

A column in the above publication captioned "Declaration of Conscriptions" is quoted as follows:

"The Committee on Resolutions presented a 'Declaration of Conscriptions' to the Saturday meeting, and this declaration was unanimously adopted. (Signers does not permit us to print the entire text; however, we print the following excerpts):

"We first affirm our deep and abiding loyalty and devotion to our country and its institutions. We acknowledge the constitution to be the hallmark of our liberties, ever subject to the sovereign powers reserved by it to the states and to the people.

"We believe that a policy which undertakes to force the association of one race with the other against the will of either, by court decree under threat of fines or imprisonment, is destructive of national good will and respect, breeds resentment and animosities, and is injurious to the true interests of all the people.

"Among the reserved rights and powers of the states, guaranteed to the state of Virginia under the South Amendment, is the power to maintain racially separate public schools.

"We do most solemnly commend our great senator from Virginia, Harry Ploce Byrd, for his recent eloquent call for all Virginians to stand staunch and firm where Virginia has always stood in ages past in opposition to tyranny from whatever quarter it may come.

This threat to the liberties of our people is mortal. The course of Virginia has been set. The contest is for eternal values. We call upon all local legislative bodies of the counties and cities of Virginia in the sacred name of the liberties of our people to stand firm and united in support of the policy and the course which has been fixed for Virginia in this crucial hour.

"It is essential that those responsible for the administration of our schools should be alert; that the fundamentals of a sound education are taught to our Virginia children, insulating an underhanding of the fundamental constitutional system under which we live.

"It is essential that the molding of the mind, character and spiritual lives of our children should remain under the control of Virginia parents. We do, therefore, urge our representatives in the Congress and the United States Senate to oppose all legislation designed directly or indirectly to repose control of our educational system in the Federal Government.

"We oppose any effort to weaken further the immigration laws of America and the further depletion of our economic resources in the continuation of so-called aid to foreign nations.

"We deplore the continued and ever increasing burden of Federal taxation, the return of such revenues to our people being always conditioned upon a further loss of their liberties.

"We declare our unalterable opposition to the submission of any portion of the sovereignty of the United States of America to the control of the United Nations or the submission of the domestic affairs of the states or the rights of any citizens of the United States to the control to any extent or by any means to the United Nations or any of its agencies or to the authority of any foreign power, government or agency whatsoever.

"Let us conduct ourselves with dignity, with self-restraint, without violence and without hatred or ill will toward any man or group of men. But withall let us conduct ourselves as worthy heirs of those who have gone before.

In an article captioned "Defenders 'Reorganized'", on page 4 of the above publication, it is related that the April (presumably 1957) issue of *Nature Magazine* carried an article by one *ROBERTSON HILL*, wherein

the writer related "I am one of those Southerners who rejoiced when the Supreme Court handed down its decision declaring segregation in the public schools unconstitutional."

The article continued by quoting BENJAMIN RUSSELL as follows:

" 'In Virginia 12,000 members of the Defenders of State Sovereignty have been more effective politically than 100,000 moderate citizens.' "

This article concluded with the statement "Thank you, Mr. RUSSELL."

This memorandum is loaned to you by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside the agency to which loaned.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

June 18, 1957

CITIZENS COUNCILS AND KU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZATIONS

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past has advised that during [redacted] Delaware, had made the following statements:

[redacted] stated he attended a public meeting of the U. S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held at [redacted] and was one of the speakers at that meeting. [redacted] stated that in September the Battle of Delaware would begin and there would not be any racial integration in the schools in Delaware. [redacted] has stated that after the public meeting at [redacted] had been held he met privately with [redacted] and others near [redacted] He said that at this meeting it was agreed there would no longer be attacks made against the Catholics blaming them for racial integration, and he stated the objective now is to go after the "Zionist Jews" for trying to destroy the Christian religion and the United States Government.

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[redacted] the States Rights Citizens Council of Georgia and that this is the real organization behind the U. S. Klans, which is just a public front. [redacted] stated "they" are going to affiliate all organizations that are fighting integration and are setting up a Board to fix the strategy throughout the country. He mentioned that one of the national leaders is [redacted] in Texas, and another is John Crommelin, a retired Rear Admiral in the United States Navy who ran last year for the United States Senate from Alabama. [redacted] and other individuals discussed that this national strategy Board of Directors will have representatives from all organizations which are fighting integration and that the fighting between them must be stopped and they must all operate with the same objective.

[redacted] Citizens Councils in Mississippi, the Seaboard White Citizens Councils

ENCLOSURE

165-2271-✓

6/22/57. 10:44. [signature]

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND KU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZATIONS

which has headquarters in Washington, D. C., and the Virginia Defenders. He commented that in the North it would not be possible to have an organization with Ku Klux Klan in the title but that there are lots of organizations under other names with the same objective.

[] has made the statement that guns will be necessary "to win this battle" and that it cannot be done by talking. He said it only takes a few men in the right places to take care of things - to hit the leaders of things like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and not the innocent Negroes who are following them. [] had made a statement, according to this source, that two Supreme Court Justices who retired after having made decisions in favor of Communists and in favor of racial integration should have been shot soon after their retirement. He made a statement that others in office who take actions along those lines should be shot but that this should happen after they leave office as a warning to others who follow them in office. In this connection mention was made of the Governor of Tennessee for calling out the National Guard during the trouble in Clinton, Tennessee, over integration in a school there. No statement was heard to the effect such people actually are going to be shot but just that it should be done.

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[] made statements to the effect that it is the "Zionist Jews" who are promoting Communism and racial integration for the purpose of weakening America. He stated that some "Jews" are against these things and that at least one is cooperating with "us." [] stated that [] of Florida, [] and [] of Alabama will probably be the strategy men in the rear when the battle comes. He said that [] is too smart a man to be out in front and identified any longer. He also stated that [] has a good underground Army because his men are not afraid to do what they are ordered since they know if they are tried they will be found not guilty. [] commented that if the jury had found some men guilty in a recent bombing trial in Montgomery, Alabama, they would not have lived thirty days. [] stated that "Jewish leaders in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People" have planted some Negroes in Milford and Dover, Delaware, to try to get their children into white schools this fall. He made the statement

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND KU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZATIONS

that these Negroes would be told not to do it in order to avoid trouble but if they go ahead there would be trouble. Abbott stated that he travels all over the country in connection with organizations that are fighting racial integration. He stated that the real problem in this country is not in the South; that the Negroes will be kept out of the white schools in the South; but that in the North where the "Jews" are getting control is where the problem is.

[] stated that the "Zionist Jews" are behind the trouble in this country over integration and that they are the ones in favor of Communism, to destroy this country. [] made a statement to the effect that before his daughter goes to school with a Negro ten thousand "Jews" will be killed. He stated that most of the people who have been convicted of treason and espionage against this country have been "Jews." He stated that John Edgar Hoover of the FBI is a prisoner of the courts in his fight against Communism because of court decisions in favor of Communism. According to this source, Abbott has made the statement that the recent Supreme Court decision that the FBI had to show its records to a Communist on trial could help "our men" but that the decision is bad because it will enable the Communists to destroy the country.

[] has made the statement that Jewish doctors killed Senator Joseph McCarthy by giving him some kind of drug or chemicals that destroyed his liver. [] has made the statement, according to this source, that the Association of South Carolina Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan will have to get into line. He stated officials of that organization say they are against violence but [] stated that violence would be necessary in getting rid of "Jews" and Communists.

In connection with not being against Catholics, [] had stated that some of the biggest support "we are getting" is from Catholics as individuals and in this connection he mentioned Louisiana and New York City. He said that the Priests and the Pope are in favor of racial integration but that the Catholics themselves are paying no attention to this. He has also stated that the heads of other churches have passed resolutions in favor of integration but no attention is being paid to them.

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND KU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZATIONS

[] has stated that a meeting is to be held June 26, 1957, in the National Guard Armory at Silver Spring, Maryland. It was not definitely stated what organization is putting on this meeting but the Seaboard White Citizens Councils was mentioned in connection with it. [] has also stated that a meeting will be held in Easton, Maryland, on June 27, 1957, and that there may be men at this meeting in robes and hoods. It was not determined definitely whether these meetings are to be open to the public but it is believed that the meeting on June 27, 1957, will be open to the public and it is possible both those meetings will be open to the public.

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The statement was made that Klansmen will be there from Pennsylvania, Virginia, New York, and other states at both these meetings. It was not stated that they will be wearing robes and hoods.

[] has also stated that a big public meeting is to be held in July in Delaware and that Klansmen from various Klan organizations are to be there in robes and hoods. The exact location of this meeting was not learned nor the name of the organization that will put it on.

The source stated that [] has a large quantity of recordings of various talks and speeches which are generally against racial integration, "Jews" and Communists.

The above source has also stated that [] of the Seaboard White Citizens Councils, Washington, D. C., has also spoken during [] of a General Strategy Board of various organizations fighting racial integration. Among organizations which he has mentioned as connected under this were the following:

Seaboard White Citizens Councils
Defenders of Virginia
Maryland Petitioners
Mississippi Citizens Council
States Rights Citizens Council of Georgia
U. S. Klans, under []
Florida Klans under []

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND KU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZATIONS

Gulf Klans, of E. C. Bernard
A Klan organization in Louisiana, headed by a
minister named Strickland
Citizens Council in Louisiana

[redacted] has stated that the following are on the
National Board of Directors of this General Strategy Board:

Admiral John G. Crommelin
Harrogate Springs
Post Office Box 141
Wetumpka, Alabama

A. C. Carter of Alabama

John Kasper of Seaboard White Citizens Councils

Captain Bullard
National Guard Armory
Silver Spring, Maryland

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b7d

Fred T. Spagler

[redacted]
San Antonio, Texas

Mr. Edward R. Fields
American Constitution Party of Iowa
[redacted]
Davenport, Iowa

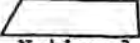
Theodore J. Thesing

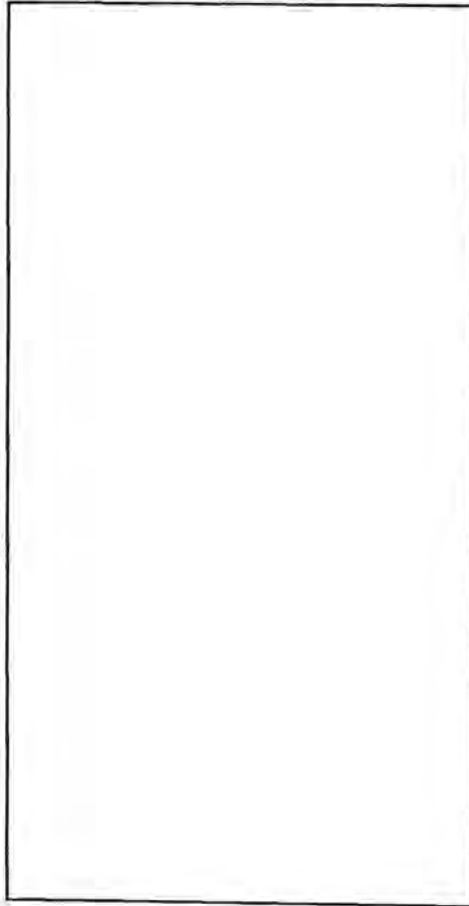
[redacted]
Philadelphia 33, Pennsylvania

Reverend John Mercurio
[redacted]
Los Angeles, California

Eureno B. Collton
[redacted]
Arlington, Virginia

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND KU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZATIONS

 has also mentioned the following as connected with the National group but not as Directors of the Strategy Board. No name has been learned for the National group. Other individuals who have been mentioned are:



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Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND KU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZATIONS

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b7D
[redacted] Delaware, has spoken of many of the same individuals and has made the statement that John Kasper, Admiral John G. Crommelin, A. C. Carter, and Reverend John Mercurio will speak at both the meetings on June 26 and 27, 1957, at Silver Spring and Easton, Maryland.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-55211)

DATE: 6/18/57

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (105-495)

SUBJECT: KNIGHTS OF THE KKK
IS - X
(OO: Charlotte)

*County of
Individual Liberties*

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau and Baltimore 5/28/57, Charlotte teletype to Bureau 6/7/57, Charlotte airtel to Bureau 6/10/57 and Bureau teletype to Charlotte 6/7/57, concerning travel by [redacted] to Washington, D. C., and Delaware to [redacted]

There is attached a blank memorandum setting forth information obtained by informant on this trip. The information was orally furnished on 6/14/57 and reduced to written form and was read and signed by him on 6/17/57. The original is in Charlotte file [redacted] Information furnished to SA [redacted]

Informant left [redacted] by train on afternoon of [redacted] and returned to [redacted] by train on the morning of [redacted] His expenses for the trip totaled [redacted] for which he has been reimbursed under authority of Bureau teletype of 6/7/57. Itemized receipt will be forwarded to the Bureau.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (105-55211) | |
| 10-Bureau (Encls. 15)(RM) | 2-Philadelphia (Encls. 2)(RM) |
| 3-Atlanta (Encls. 3)(RM) | 1-Pittsburgh (Info)(Encl. 1)(RM) |
| 6-Baltimore (Encls. 6)(RM) | 3-Richmond (Encls. 3)(RM) |
| 2-Birmingham (Encls. 2)(RM) | 2-San Antonio (Encls. 2)(RM) |
| 2-Chicago (Encls. 2)(RM) | 2-Savannah (Encls. 2)(RM) |
| 2-Knoxville (Encls. 2)(RM) | 3-Washington Field (Encls. 3)(RM) |
| 2-Los Angeles (Encls. 2)(RM) | 5-Charlotte (105-495) |
| 2-Memphis (Encls. 2)(RM) | (105-471) |
| 2-Miami (Encls. 2)(RM) | (100-8334) |
| 2-Mobile (Encls. 2)(RM) | (105-469) |
| 3-New Orleans (Encls. 3)(RM) | (105-0) [redacted] |
| 1-New York (Info)(Encl. 1)(RM) | |
| 1-Norfolk (Info)(Encl. 1)(RM) | |
| 2-Omaha (Encls. 2)(RM) | |

JMU:fer
(58)

ENCLOSURE

57 JUL 18 1957

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-27-93 BY 1046/pum/gtt

105-55211-909
NOT RECORDED
117 JUL 8 1957

ORIGINAL OR ORIGINAL

CE 105-495

Informant states that he arrived in Washington on [redacted] and was in contact on that date with [redacted]. [redacted] is stated to reside at [redacted] Va., and employed [redacted] resides at [redacted] Va., telephone [redacted] and he was stated to be connected with the Defenders of Va. [redacted] is connected with Seaboard White Citizens Councils. [redacted] stated that he, himself, works [redacted] at Washington, D. C. and is planning to retire in September, [redacted] stated that [redacted] was in Tennessee where he had seen some people in connection with the case in court against [redacted].

Informant stated that on Sunday, [redacted] who was said to be very active in Seaboard White Citizens Councils, was also stated to have been with [redacted] in Clinton, Tenn., last year during the trouble about Negro children attending a white school. [redacted] stated he works for [redacted] and after the Clinton incident some official of that company had tried to get him to resign his job but he had refused.

Concerning [redacted] the statement was made that he had formerly worked for [redacted] but was fired because of his connection with the Seaboard White Citizens Councils.

Conversation with this group on [redacted] took place at the home of [redacted] at his office at [redacted] Washington, D. C., and at a restaurant downstairs from that office. The information in the attached blank memorandum furnished by [redacted] concerning various individuals and organizations connected in fighting racial integration was furnished by him on [redacted] and most of the names set out were on a typewritten list which he gave to informant.

The statements attributed to [redacted] were made by him during contact by informant, [redacted] on [redacted]. This contact lasted from the late evening of [redacted] until the early morning of [redacted]. On the same trip these individuals contacted [redacted] owner of [redacted] Delaware.

CE 105-495

Discussion with him centered about the meeting to be held 6/26/57 in the National Guard Armory at Silver Spring, Md. [redacted] and [redacted] during the trip, made the comment that [redacted] is very rich and is a strong backer of the anti-integration movement. This trip to [redacted] Delaware, was made in a [redacted]

In the body of the blank memorandum exact dates and persons present have not been mentioned in an effort to protect identity of the informant.

Informant stated that [redacted] lives with his wife and daughter in a home two blocks off the highway in [redacted]. In the rear of the house is a separate room [redacted]

[redacted] of speeches and statements. Included among these was a recording of talk which he said he gave on [redacted] at the meeting of the U. S. Klans in [redacted]. In connection with the trip to [redacted] made the statement he was the only one who had gone from that area; that others had been supposed to go but did not because of bad weather. He also stated he had not come to [redacted] as he had planned but had gone through [redacted] and stopped at the [redacted]

[redacted] stated that the meeting with officials of the U. S. Klans after the public meeting had been held in a [redacted] not far from where the public meeting was held. [redacted] a retired Army Captain and his wife and is owned by a man named [redacted] in [redacted] did not say whether [redacted] is a member or sympathizer in any Klan organization.

[redacted] made a statement that E. L. EDWARDS of the U. S. Klans had been "called on the carpet and bawled out" for appearing on the Phillip Morris TV Program without permission from "The Board" and that EDWARDS may be pulled down from leadership in the U. S. Klans.

In connection with the meeting to be held [redacted] made the statement this will be held in the open and if it rains they have a big warehouse to meet in. [redacted]

CE 105-495

stated that the big public meeting in July in Delaware is to be about [redacted] This date was omitted from the blank memorandum for assistance in covering informant.

Concerning the allegation that Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY was killed by a drug, informant stated that [redacted] and [redacted] discussed this at some length and a statement was made that a publication is going to be put out (apparently by Seaboard White Citizens Councils) making this allegation. [redacted] in general discussion stated they have [redacted]

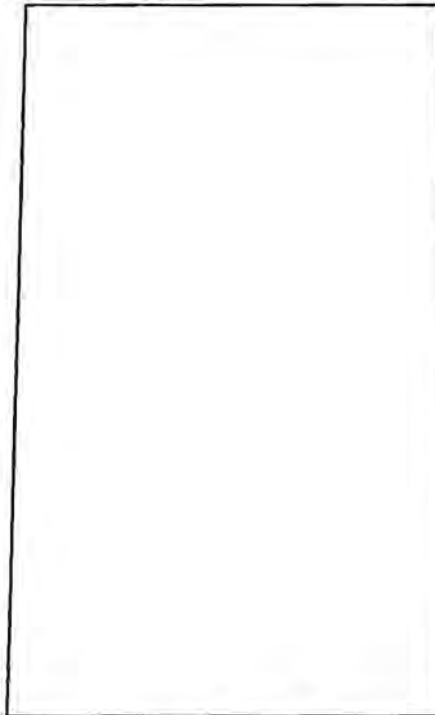
Informant stated that the various statements of [redacted] appeared to meet with agreement from [redacted] and [redacted] and the impression was gained that these matters had been discussed between them before. It was clear that [redacted] and [redacted] were acquainted before this occasion.

Informant stated that these individuals had expressed themselves as very much in favor of the [redacted] which was discussed as being against Communism and [redacted]

Informant stated that on [redacted] exhibited a letter written to him from an Assistant Attorney General in the U. S. Department of Justice. This letter was in response to a letter [redacted] had written asking for a list of Communists throughout the U. S. [redacted] said he had just received the reply that day and that it said the information he wanted had to do with national security and could not be furnished.

CE 105-495

[redacted] furnished informant a list apparently prepared on a fluid duplicating machine which prints in purple ink which he stated was of employees [redacted]. He said those marked with "B" are Negroes and those marked with a check mark are in the Seaboard White Citizens Councils. Those on this list marked with a check mark are as follows:



It is noted these names are on the first two pages of this list. There are [redacted] to this list but none of the names on the last [redacted] although a number of them have [redacted]. This list includes the name [redacted] which has [redacted] and the name [redacted].

CE 105-495

[REDACTED]

Separate memoranda concerning [REDACTED] and the other individuals mentioned as being Government employees and members of Seaboard White Citizens Councils are not being submitted by Charlotte under 140-0, SGE, UACB, because of Bureau instructions that investigations of Citizens Councils should not be conducted.

Ten copies of this cover letter and 15 copies of the attached blank memorandum are being forwarded the Bureau for possible use in placing copies in the files of the organizations mentioned.

Copies are also being transmitted to the Offices covering organizations or individuals mentioned.

It is requested that Offices receiving copies of this communication advise Charlotte of the known pertinence or value of this information for assistance in evaluating this informant.

There are also being furnished to the Bureau and Washington Field by separate communication copies of a blank memorandum concerning information received by this informant from [REDACTED] Attorney for [REDACTED]

The blank memorandum does not include Charlotte as the place of preparation as a measure to aid in protecting the informant.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Extreme caution should be used in reporting information contained in this letter and information should be appropriately paraphrased in the event it is set out in a report. No indication should be made as to the location of the informant.



FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
AND
PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT 105-HQ-32909

FILE NUMBER 105-HQ-32909

SECTION NUMBER 3



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

AIRTEL

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (105-32909)

FROM SAC, WFO (100-32567)

DEFENDERS OF STATES SOVERIGNTY AND
INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES

IS - S

(OO: RICHMOND)

2/6/58

On 2/6/58 [] advised SA [] orally that he did not attend the meeting held at Falls Church High School on 2/5/58 of "The Defenders" but that he would attend a meeting of that group on 2/7/58 at Broyhill Auditorium, Arlington, Va. Resident Agency, Alexandria, Va., notified by phone this date.

[] advised that on 2/18,19/58 the "Defenders" intend to hold their second annual convention in Richmond where THURMAN SENSING will be the main speaker.

Informant advised that the Arlington Delegation will register at the John Marshall Hotel in Richmond on 2/18/58.

It is planned by this office to send [] to this convention.

Indices of WFO reflect one reference to a THURMAN SENSING. This reference reflects a THURMAN SENSING to be the author of "The Real Question About Integration", published by the Southern States Industrial Council, Nashville, Tenn.

- 3 - Bureau
- 1 - Memphis (Info)
- 2 - Richmond (100-32567)
- 3 - WFO
 - (1 - 100-332261(WCC))
 - (1 - [])

RBL:amw
(9)
AIRTEL

REC-35

1/6/93

1048/DKM/90

40

FEB 7 1958

5-ALM



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 105-405

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Richmond, Virginia

February 20, 1958

DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY
AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES

The January, 1958, issue of "The Defenders News and Views", published by Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, Richmond, Virginia, announced their State Convention to be held February 18, and 19, 1958, at the John Marshall Hotel, Richmond, Virginia.

The schedule called for registration beginning at noon, February 18, 1958, reports of officers, reports of chapters and committee appointments beginning at 2:00 p.m., and a dinner at 7:00 p.m., at the John Marshall Hotel at which THURMAN SENSING, Executive Vice President of the Southern States Industrial Council, was to be the speaker.

SENSING was identified as the author of the weekly column, "Sensing the News", which appears in many southern newspapers.

The program for February 19, 1958, listed reports of committees at 10:00 a.m., and an address by Mrs. WILLIAM D. LEETCH, Secretary of American Coalition, An Organization to Coordinate the Efforts of Patriotic, Civic and Fraternal Societies to Keep America American, scheduled for 11:00 a.m.

The "Richmond News Leader", Richmond, Virginia, in its issue February 18, 1958, reported that the two-day State Convention of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties opened in Richmond on February 18, 1958, at the John Marshall Hotel. It reported that some 600 delegates were expected to register for the convention. It announced that Representative WATKINS M. ABBITT of the Fourth Congressional District of Virginia, would be toastmaster at their banquet scheduled for 7:00 p.m., at which THURMAN SENSING of Nashville, Tennessee, was to be the speaker.

CONFIDENTIAL
200 APR 14 1972

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/6/43 BY 1048/DKM/gtt

105-3247 42

ENCLOSURE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 4/ 1/58

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-32567)

SUBJECT: DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY
AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES
IS - X
(OO:RH)

Enclosed for the Bureau are two pieces of literature obtained by [redacted] on 3/21/58 at a meeting of the Arlington Chapter of captioned group at 4610 Lee Highway, Arlington, Va.

The first item is a pamphlet by JOHN LOCKE GREEN, Arlington, Va., dated December, 1954, which states on the cover that it is dedicated to "Attorney General HERBERT BROWNELL, for His Calculating Political Sagacity; To Governor THOMAS E. DEWEY, for His Ruthless Political Ambition; To Chief Justice EARL WARREN for His Ignorance of the Law; and To President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, for his Ability to Paint and Play Golf While the Foundations of the Republic Crumble."

This pamphlet is an attack on the 14th Amendment as the killer of States' Rights. The Amendment was described as the inspiration of the "octoroon" mistress of THADDEUS STEVENS, who introduced it in the House of Representatives. It said that HERBERT BROWNELL was seeking under law to accomplish what STEVENS had in mind, the destruction of States' Rights.

The second item is a leaflet headed "Mrs" DAISY RATES. It is put out in the form of the Bureau's "wanted Flyers," but instead of setting forth a wanted notice it has pictures of her from the Little Rock, Arkansas Sheriff's Office and her fingerprint record from the Dept. of Arkansas State Police. On this record on the leaflet is "FBI #4590725." This is being submitted to the Bureau in view of the fact that the release of this record for other than official use may be in violation of the Bureau's rules and regulations regarding fingerprint records.

EX-135

2 - Bureau (Encls. 2)
1 - Richmond (INFO) (RM)
1 - Little Rock (INFO) (RM)
3 - WFO
(1 - [redacted])
(1 - 100-33226) (WCC)

17 APR -2- 1958

EX-135

WFO 100-32567

This second leaflet reflects that it was distributed by the Capital Citizens Council, Julia~~an~~^{Miller}, Director.

Inasmuch as these items were obtained at a meeting of captioned group, the Bureau should forward the items to the RH Office as soon as they have served the Bureau's purpose.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

June 23, 1958

DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY
AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES
IS - X

Confidential Informant [] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on June 23, 1958, that the following persons were elected as officers of the Arlington Chapter, Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, at a meeting on June 20, 1958:

President: H. P. Raden
Vice President: Carlton Carter
Treasurer: William Spillman
Executive Secretary: Jack Rathbone
Sergeant at Arms: D. D. Batchelor
Board of Directors: Sam Erwin
Bob Small
Paul Overholtzer

In a discussion following the meeting, according to [] Carlton Carter remarked that no one could say anything strong enough for him at the meetings and that action and not speeches were needed. The Informant said Carter jokingly suggested that a "Do-it-yourself Synagogue Kit" be prepared, consisting of two sticks of dynamite and a piece of paper stating, "let your conscience be your guide."

[] also learned that Carter, Small, Gene Collton and some others are meeting at the Carter residence on Tuesday, June 24, 1958. The purpose of the meeting is unknown.

This memorandum is loaned to you by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside the agency to which loaned.

ENCLOSURE

105-32909-72

Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties (DSSIL) is a state-wide citizens council-type organization in Virginia, the stated purpose of which is to oppose racial integration in the public schools through legal means. Information submitted by the Richmond Office shows numerous highly respected Virginia citizens and political figures are members of DSSIL. Attached airtel and memorandum shows vice president of Arlington Chapter of DSSIL remarked at meeting on 6/20/58 that no one could say anything strong enough for him and that action and not speeches were needed. He jokingly suggested that a "Do-it-yourself synagogue kit" be prepared consisting of two sticks of dynamite and a piece of paper stating, "Let your conscience be your guide." Dissemination is being made to the Department and intelligence agencies of the Armed Forces.

DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES
405-A East Franklin Street
Richmond, Virginia

A MESSAGE TO OUR MEMBERS

We have had a number of inquiries about attitudes, ideas and plans of the communities of Virginia which are now under court orders to integrate their public schools next September. People are anxious to know if the segregation forces in the communities affected are still determined and convinced that there will be no integration next Fall. We have asked for statements from these areas, and we are sure our readers will be as pleased as we are with the response. This is not news to the State Office, because we have been in constant touch with these people, have been working closely with them, and have seen no evidence of any wavering or lack of confidence.

The eyes of the nation are on Virginia! As an editorial in The Halifax Gazette recently stated:

"It is a late hour to be reminding Virginians of the noble heritage they enjoy, but it is never too late to urge them to stand firm and resolute, and never to yield to tyranny under whatever disguise. It is never too late to urge them not to incite to violence. Whatever the hour, a word of caution to the people to refrain from wrath and anger, and to remind them to disport themselves as Virginians should, as they ever must.

"On this rock of resistance here in Virginia rests the last defense of constitutional government in America. If Virginia fails or forfeits, the rest will topple, and all will be lost. Our enemies well know this, for they have concentrated their fire on Virginia to effect a quick and cheap victory."

Sincerely,

R. B. Crawford, President.

422/93

1046/OKM/94

105-32909-
76

See Hoskin
mb p 8

76

ENCLOSURE

FROM HARVEY E. WHITE, SR., Norfolk

Herewith is copy of a release we have made to the press:

We are obtaining a charter for a non-stock, non-profit educational foundation to meet, or help meet, the emergency created by the desegregation decisions and the probable closing of some or all of our public schools. This foundation will be non-political and devoted entirely to seeing that our children are educated.

The foundation will operate as nearly as possible in the same manner that the public schools now operate. Curriculum will be substantially the same; teachers will be paid at the same rate as those in the public schools and a superintendent will be engaged.

When a school is closed the school board will be requested to grant the teachers of that school, or so many of them as may not be required elsewhere a leave of absence in order that they may be immediately available for employment by the foundation. In this way, the teachers will not lose pension or other benefits to which they are, or may be entitled. If the Governor finds that the school can be opened on a separate race basis, these teachers, or so many of them as may be needed, will be returned, together with the pupils of that public school, to their regular classes.

A committee will be appointed to engage the services of qualified persons as teachers on either a voluntary or pay basis until such time as the present emergency abates. A committee will be appointed to ascertain what physical facilities are available in churches, meeting halls, etc., and on what terms. A further committee will be appointed to investigate and report on transportation facilities and requirements.

If a school is closed and the Governor finds that it cannot be opened on a segregated basis, the Governor will be requested to grant the city government authority to issue a temporary use-permit or lend, lease or sell it to the foundation. Suits and injunctive demands are to be expected and a capable team of public spirited attorneys will be engaged to serve without cost to the foundation.

Steps will be taken to qualify the foundation as a charitable and benevolent organization in order that tax free contributions may be made. Businesses, organizations and individuals will be solicited for funds. The newspapers will be requested to publicize and print the names of contributors and turn over any funds collected to the foundation. The

Community Fund will be asked to make solicitation teams available, and a concerted drive will be made to insure the success of this enterprise. It is thought that the tuition grants made available to the parents of displaced school children will furnish the major part of the funds necessary. A committee will therefore be appointed to confer with the Commonwealth and City authorities to arrange for the prompt processing of tuition grant applications to insure a smooth operation and quick availability of these funds.

The Foundation may, if its directors so decide, arrange with private and public schools in the vicinity of Norfolk, for the placement of displaced school children, and act as a clearing house generally for parents applying for tuition grants.

It is highly probable that some negro schools will be closed by applications and enrollment of white students therein or by other means. Although the proposition of the education of colored students within the framework of this organization is a matter reserved for future consideration, representatives of the foundation will be glad to meet with any group of colored citizens who desire to keep their schools open.

The makeup of the Board of Directors will be such as to insure the fact that it will be operated with intelligence, energy and moderation. With such direction there is no reason why it should not prove capable of meeting the crisis with which we are now faced.

* * * * *

FROM J. B. WALL, Farmville

On May 31, 1955, the Board of Supervisors of Prince Edward County, refused to tax the people of Prince Edward County for the operation of schools on a non-separate basis. It appearing that there would be no public schools for the 1955-56 session, the people of Prince Edward County, approximately 1,400 white citizens, met in Jarman auditorium on June 7, 1955, approved the action of the Board of Supervisors, and authorized the establishment of a private corporation, the Prince Edward Educational Corporation, for the purpose of maintaining a teaching force in the county, and providing facilities for the operation of schools for the white people. A total of \$212,000 was made available to the corporation in negotiable pledge notes by individuals, and a sum of \$10,000 in cash.

Prince Edward people took this action for two reasons.

First, many believed that the U. S. Supreme Court had usurped the rights and power of the 48 states, and had rendered a decision, not based upon law, precedent and the Constitution, but upon spurious theories and philosophies of sociologists, at least one of whom was a foreigner.

Second, efficient system of schools was impossible on any save a racially separate basis. The white people, who pay 87 per cent of the taxes in the county were unwilling to tax themselves for a school system impossible of operation.

On May 3, 1956, the Board of Supervisors of Prince Edward County received a simple statement to the effect that the undersigned citizens, affirmed the position taken May 31, 1955. A total of 4,200 white adult citizens signed the affirmation. A declaration of convictions was passed by citizens who attended the meeting of the Board of Supervisors.

So far as Prince Edward County is concerned, there the matter stands. The Prince Edward Educational Corporation has obtained the use of temporary facilities for classrooms, and has acceptances from present members of the school faculties, plus a list of capable volunteers, who agree to teach the classes.

* * * * *

FROM E. J. OGLESBY, Charlottesville

We, the Defenders, of the Charlottesville area, have every confidence that there will be no integration in the public schools of Charlottesville in September.

In the event it becomes necessary to close the schools, an educational corporation will be ready to operate private schools for our white children.

The majority of white parents in Charlottesville are as determined as the local Defenders to maintain separation of the races in the education of our children.

* * * * *

FROM JACK RATHBONE, Arlington

After four years of sham battles, skirmishes, close-quarter drills and brush fire extinguishing in the cause of Constitutional government, the members of the Arlington Chapter of Defenders are well prepared and trained in the duties that will confront them should evil forces persist in forcing their race-mixing designs against our wills and in violation of our inalienable rights.

Our plans have been drawn, the line laid out, the stage set, and our storehouse full, and we await with calmness and dedication the on-coming event.

For ourselves, we ask nothing but the God-given natural right to raise and educate our children in the fashion of our own choosing, and anyone believing that we will spinelessly surrender these rights to the NAACP lawyers and their Federal enforcers have another think coming to them!

As we draw close to another zero hour in our continuing struggle to maintain the sovereignty of our Commonwealth and the liberties of our people against the evil forces that would deny us these constitutional guaranteed privileges, we pause in our labors in the vineyard of efficient segregated schools to give hearty praise and humble thanks to the architects of that vastly potent movement now widely acclaimed as massive resistance, to which all Defenders have willingly subscribed. Massive resistance opened our schools in 1954 and again in 1955 and again in 1956 and again in 1957, and with extreme massive resistance we will have them opened and segregated in 1958 and thereafter. Our people firmly believe that you don't have to integrate to educate!

* * * * *

CHAPTER ACTIVITIES

The Scottsville-Albemarle Chapter has reported one hundred and twelve new members. Our sincere thanks to E. J. Oglesby of Charlottesville for giving his time and efforts toward assisting Scottsville in their membership drive.

Our Arlington Defenders had a distinguished speaker in May. The Honorable Hugh G. Grant of Augusta, Georgia, former United States Minister to Albania and Thailand emphasized the leading role played by Virginia in the battle for the retention of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties. Mr. Grant said:

It seems obvious from many reliable sources that a phase of the Communist strategy in the United States is to aid the conspiracy to mix the races, particularly in the South where the bulk of the Negroes reside. The Communist Negro drive started in the United States in 1920, according to James W. Ford, Negro Communist Party leader, as stated in the House un-American Activities Committee report of July 1947.

In 1928 the Negro program of the Communist party was announced. . . . Many American Negroes were sent to Russia in 1928 for training in Communist revolutionary tactics. Henry Lee Moon, an official of the NAACP, in his book, Balance of Power: The Negro Vote, published in 1948,

said: 'Communism is not regarded as the enemy - there is every reason why the Negroes should oppose any attempt to purge the Communists from American life.'

Political leaders called "liberals" of both the National Democratic and Republican parties, with sharp eyes on the Negro Bloc Vote in key Northern states, are important allies of the race-mixers. As David Lawrence said (about Civil Rights legislation), 'Outside the South, it's four million Negro votes that the fight is all about - four million Negro votes in 14 states - these votes can decide elections.'

Judge Jegan¹Bravatt of Blackstone addressed the Norfolk Chapter of Defenders at a Memorial Day dinner at Carl Parker's Banquet Hall. His inspiring message was heard by a capacity crowd that filled the hall.

The Middlesex Defenders held a rally on May 15th, with Mr. Collins Denny, Jr., as the speaker. Mr. Denny warned his listeners against apathy and urged them to "stand up and be counted." He said, "How do your public officials stand in the segregation matter? How many have announced their convictions by joining the Defenders?" The answer came back from the chairman that so far only two had joined. "It is time, then," said Mr. Denny, "to make them stand up and be counted." Then he added, "Go call on them Monday morning."

An election of officers was held at the meeting of the Chapter of Defenders in Mecklenberg on July 9th. The following were elected: R. L. Millirons, South Hill, President; S. T. Moore, South Hill, Vice-President; John D. Hereford, Clarks-ville, Treasurer; V. C. Daniel, Boydton, Secretary; S. E. Hubbard, State Director.

From the President of one of our Chapters comes the information that the 1958 Rural Ministers' Summer School, which is co-sponsored by the RURITAN CLUBS OF VIRGINIA, planned work conferences under the leadership of Dr. Tom Bennett and Randolph Thornton of the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. The Chapter president advised us that since his rural ministers were in for a "brainwashing" from the National Council of Churches, he could no longer support this program in his Ruritan Club. If your Ruritan Club sent a minister to this "workshop" you may wish to inquire about the technique, etc., to which he was exposed.

* * * * *

We are pleased to advise that the Defenders Welfare and Educational Foundation has received several substantial donations. Anyone wishing to contribute to this tax-deductible fund may make their checks payable to the foundation and may send them,

to The Defenders, P. O. Box 8641, Richmond 26, Virginia.

* * * * *

The Citizens' Council Forum is producing both on television and radio a series called The American Viewpoint With a Southern Accent.

In Richmond, WTVR-TV and WMBG were the first Virginia stations to carry this program featuring United States Congressmen in interviews on States Rights. Below is a schedule of the series.

RADIO LISTINGS

Virginia

Richmond - WMBG - Started on Sunday, July 6th 10:00 P.M.
Norfolk - WLOW - Started - check station for time
Charlottesville - WCHV - Sundays, 7:45 P.M.
Falls Church - WFAX - Check station for time
Roanoke - WRIS - Sundays, 6:30 P.M.

TELEVISION LISTINGS

Virginia

Richmond - WTVR - Mondays at 6:30 P.M.
Hampton
Norfolk - WVEC - Will begin shortly - check with station
Roanoke - WSLS - Will begin shortly - check with station

North Carolina

Raleigh - WRAL - Sunday afternoons - check with station.

The Defenders are cooperating with the Forum, and we urge you and your friends to tune in. If you hear one of these programs, we believe you will want to hear the entire series. If you like the showings, write to your station, commending them on this public service.

We have been receiving a Quarterly published by the Baptist Laymen of Alabama, P. O. Box 2562, Montgomery 6, Alabama. This is called "The Christian Layman", and we wrote to the publishers commending them on this fine work. We have just received a reply from Dean Fleming, Secretary, and the following are excerpts from it:

"Under separate cover we are mailing you a supply of THE CHRISTIAN LAYMAN along with additional information.

"As you know Mississippi Laymen have organized, and on July 15th we go to Little Rock to organize Baptist Laymen of Arkansas. Why not discuss the matter with those that feel as we do and lets organize Virginia? Georgia and South Carolina are in the making.

"It is a well established fact that Communism leaked into our Churches and seeped out through the pulpits; this was the master plan. So, as Laymen, we feel that with all due respect to any and all other organizations THE CHURCH IS THE PLACE TO STRIKE BACK. All of the other organizations are very necessary, serve a very definite purpose, but until ALL efforts are channelled through a ONENESS OF PURPOSE effort, until white people will set a pattern and stay with it...all is in vain."

* * * * *

OUR NORDIC RACE

One of our Defenders, Richard Kelly Hoskins, has just published a handbook for students of racial history entitled, Our Nordic Race. This book is the result of much research and gives factual information regarding the destruction of the white race in other countries in the past and the results of miscegenation according to history. We recommend it to our members and friends.

You may order direct from the author:

Richard Kelly Hoskins
P. O. Box 5940
Richmond, Virginia

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-32909)

DATE: 7/11/60

FROM : SAC, RICHMOND (105-405)

5-1 from Fr. Richmond re
status of Defenders News
+ News. Be determine.
whether pub currently being
printed. 8-4-60 pub. B.
5-1 sta 8-12-60 - Filed
AmB.

SUBJECT: DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY
AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES
IS - X

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eight copies
of a letterhead memorandum reflecting that captioned organi-
zation has requested Congressman TUCK to request an investi-
gation by the House Committee on Un-American Activities
into the activities of the Congress on Racial Equality,
(CORE).

2 - Bureau (Encs. 8) **ENCLOSURE**
1 - Richmond
CFH:iwp
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-7-93 BY 1046 DKM/ltt

Agency S-2, [unclear] [unclear]
Req. Rec'd
Date Forw. 7-21-60
How Forw. 21
By [unclear]
rec'd. Unit
2 cc's destroyed

REC-39

105-32909-80

JUL 13 1960

50 JUL 26 1960 7347



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Richmond, Virginia
July 11, 1960

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/7/93 BY 1048/DKM/gte

DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY
AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES

The Farmville Herald, a newspaper, Farmville, Virginia, in its issue dated June 21, 1960, reported that the annual state-wide meeting of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties was held at Blackstone, Virginia, on June 18, 1960, and the speakers placed primary emphasis on the rights of the states and the rights of individuals.

D.C.
It was further reported that the Board of Directors of the Defenders earlier on that date met and called for an investigation by the House Committee on Un-American Activities into the activities of the Congress on Racial Equality, also known as CORE, and other organizations that are "stirring racial foment" in the state. The article continued that the Board of Directors asked Congressman William M. Tuck of Virginia, who was present at the meeting, to request the inquiry. The article continued that the resolution asked that the probe be made within the borders of Virginia, noting that four have acknowledged lending aid to Negroes conducting sit-in demonstrations in the South.

Concerning CORE, it is noted that an article entitled "Negro Youths Spread Sit-Down Fight on Jim Crows" which appears in the February 28, 1960, issue of "The Worker" reflects that "The Congress on Racial Equality (CORE)" has been active in organizing picket lines in their fight against racial discrimination at lunch counters.

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist weekly publication.

ENCLOSURE

105-2719-80

RE: DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY
AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES

Concerning Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, this organization was incorporated in Virginia on October 26, 1954, and has been identified as a group which is "pledged to the preservation of racial segregation." A review of news accounts and the official organ of this organization, "The Defenders News and Views" reflects that numerous highly respected Virginia citizens and political figures are members of the organization and the group is opposed to violence and illegal tactics and is only concerned with opposing racial integration in the public schools through legal means.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-32909)
ATTENTION: CENTRAL RESEARCH

DATE: 5/31/61

FROM : SAC, RICHMOND (105-405)

SUBJECT: DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY
AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES
IS - X

For the information of the Bureau there is enclosed a copy of a paper bound book captioned, "A Business Man Looks at Communism", by FRED C. KOCH, Wichita, Kansas. This copy was reprinted and distributed by special permission of the author by the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties.

The above was made available to this office by former [redacted] on May 18, 1961. The informant further advised that there have been issues of the "Defenders News and Views" published by the captioned organization and that it was the informant's opinion that this publication is no longer in existence.

2-Bureau (Enc. 1) (REGISTERED MAIL)
2-Richmond (105-405)

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(4)

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CENTRAL RESEARCH

INT. SEC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 11/2/93 BY 1048/dkm/gtt

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-32909) ATTN: CENTRAL RESEARCH

FROM: SAC, RICHMOND (105-405)

Enclosure (1)

Paper bound book entitled "A Business Man Looks at Communism"

Transmitted by letter dated 5/31/61 at Richmond.

ENCLOSURE

105-32909-81

**A BUSINESS MAN
LOOKS AT
COMMUNISM**

1/7/53 1248/DM/glt

BY
FRED C KOCH
WICHITA, KANSAS



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About The Author

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Fred C. Koch is a native Texan, who graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1922 as a chemical engineer. In 1924-25 he was chief engineer of the Medway Oil & Storage Co., Ltd. at the Isle of Grain, Kent, England.

In 1925 he helped organize the Winkler-Koch Engineering Company of Wichita, Kansas. This company specialized in the design and erection of petroleum refineries. Refinery equipment and refineries were built in England, France, Germany, Rumania, Russia, Italy, Portugal, the Middle East, Burma, South Africa, Canada, and other places.

In 1929, 1930, and 1931 this company built fifteen oil-cracking plants in the Soviet Union. It was during his visit to the U.S.S.R. that Mr. Koch became acquainted and traveled with the old Bolsheviki, Jerome Livschitz, who outlined the Kremlin's plan to subvert the U.S.A., which has been largely carried out.

In connection with business and pleasure Mr. Koch has traveled on every continent.

He is now president of the Rock Island Oil & Refining Co., Inc., chairman of the board of the Koch Engineering Co., Inc., president of the Koch Oil Corporation, Inc., all of Wichita, Kansas.

He is a director of

The First National Bank of Wichita, Kansas

The Cushman Company, of Wichita, Kansas

The Great Northern Oil Company, St. Paul, Minnesota

The Minnesota Pipe Line Company, St. Paul, Minnesota

The South Saskatchewan Pipe Line Company, Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada

The Great Northern Oil Purchasing Company, Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada.

He returned to the Soviet Union in 1956, and was in Iraq in 1958 shortly before the revolution. His address is now 321 West Douglas, Wichita, Kansas.

A Business Man Looks At Communism

By FRED C. KOCH

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Mr. Fred C. Koch gave permission to The Farmville (Va.) Herald to publish his excellent story in that newspaper and to make reprints. "I am not interested in any credit. All I want is to get the word around," he wrote. You, dear reader, are indebted to Mr. Koch for his patriotic service.

One hot, summer day in far away 1929 I was host at a luncheon to a group of about a dozen men in the old Wichita Club, in Wichita, Kansas. These men were the elite of the oil industry of Soviet Russia, plus their aides, flunkies, interpreters, and secret Communist spies, who always go along on such expeditions.

Some months before my firm had received orders for fifteen oil-cracking stills to be erected in the U.S.S.R. at Orenburg, Tsimba, Batoum, Baku, and Yaretsky for the Soviet Government.

There were present at this luncheon Mr. Ganshin, president of Soyuzneft, the All Union Oil Trust, the president of Concessions, whose name I cannot recall, and Mr. Barnetoff, president of Azneft at Baku, a very large man with handle-bar moustache. Mr. Barnetoff told me to be sure and come to see him at Baku. When I came to Russia a year and half later Mr. Barnetoff was dead, shot by Stalin, and Mr. Ganshin was on trial for his life, to be later shot.

During the period 1929, '30, and '31 a number of Russian engineers came to Wichita to see us, and to be located in various oil refineries for a course in American refining practices. As far as I could tell most of these men were subsequently shot or sent to Siberia.

One man, a little fellow by the name of Hachaleureff, after leaving Wichita to return to Russia, found out in Germany that he would be shot when he reached home, so he came back to the U.S.A., and to Wichita. In order to help him we gave him a job, but after a few months, in the spring of 1930, he either committed suicide, or was murdered by the Soviet Secret Police, which unknown to most people has operated in the United States

for thirty years. There is a common saying among Communists that it is easier to commit an artistic murder than an artistic suicide. In other words, many murders are made to look like suicide, so we will never know the truth about Hachaleureff's death in Wichita.

I went to the U.S.S.R. in 1930, and found it a land of horror, misery, and terror. The government detained a little man by the name of Jerome Lavshin to go around to run various installations with me. Lavshin had taken part in the revolution of 1904, and had spent twelve years in the U.S.A. as a revolutionary, most of the time in jail. Upon his return to Russia, Lavshin had taken part in the revolution of 1917. He was a hard-core Communist, one of the old Bolsheviks, and had tremendous power as everyone feared him wherever we went.

In the months I traveled with him he gave me a liberal education in Communist techniques and methods. He told me how the Communists were going to infiltrate the U.S.A. in the schools, universities, churches, labor unions, government, armed forces, and to use his words, "Make you listen to the noise." I believe that due to the American experience he was one of the original architects of the Communist plan of subversion of the U.S.A.

My associate and I pulled him from under an overturned car in Tulsa, and he was amazed. "Why did you save my life?" he said. "We are enemies. I would not have saved you. Perhaps when the revolution comes to the U.S.A., and I'm here there, I will spare your life." He told me that if his own mother stood in the way of the revolution he would strangle her with his bare hands. This is the

cent, or war, what are they going to do with the people who have been captivated by Capitalism, who are hopeless from a Communist point of view? They will murder everyone who is not a Communist, which they estimate will be one third of the people—the greatest blood bath in history, because as a people we are more highly contaminated by Capitalism.

As an example, in Lithuania out of a population of 3,000,000 over 700,000 people were murdered or sent to Siberia by the Russian Communists. These people were the best people in the country—the most intelligent, most able, and best educated.

When I was in Russia in 1930 the Communists had long since murdered all the capitalists and property owners, and were working on everyone who had ever worn a white collar, such people as doctors, lawyers, engineers, etc. Many of these people had been liquidated, and those that were left were living in fear and trembling for that knock on the door which comes between midnight and four in the morning, which are the hours of call of the secret police behind the iron curtains.

In 1930 the Russian Communists were not interested in the old or middle-aged people who had come up under the old regime. They regarded them as hopeless, as these people could never learn to like Communism. They deliberately let them starve or die of disease just to get them out of the way. The people they were vitally interested in were the children, who got the best food and attention. These children received constant and intensive indoctrination in Communism in their schools.

During a banquet in Russia in 1934, Wm. C. Bullitt, American ambassador, was told by Voroshilov with great pride that in 1919, 11,000 Czarist officers were persuaded to surrender by promising that if they did so their wives and families would be permitted to return home with them. Upon surrender the officers and the main children were shot, and the females put in brothels for the Red Army, where they all died within three months. This is all very meritorious under Marxism-Leninism.

When Cyril Eaton rushed up to Khrushchev after the Summit fiasco and denounced the U.S.A., Khrushchev beamed and promised Eaton, "I will put in a good word for you when Communism takes over the world." He meant by this that Eaton would not be shot as you and I probably will be.

Marxism—Scientific Socialism (A Summary)

1. Materialistic explanation of man and the universe.
2. Comprehensive interpretation of history centering about the class struggle.
3. Abolition of non-Communist states as instrument of exploitation.
4. Revolutionary theory, method and flexible course of action to overthrow State and Capitalistic system by violence and murder.
5. Moral code based on utility of neo-supernatural concepts.
6. Abolition of all religions.
7. World Communist revolution.
8. World Communist Society.

How Communism Conquers Enemies.

Communists talk about peace, but feverishly prepare for war. In the U.S.S.R. gigantic military strength—army, navy, air force. In the U.S. above and below ground apparatus designed to wage war against non-Communist society.

War is a continuation of politics by other means. Just wars are now waged to advance Communism. Unjust wars grow out of Capitalist exploitation. National Liberation is a Communist take-over.

Marxism-Leninism teaches war is absolutely necessary to bring about Communism wherever Capitalism is resisted.

Conquered China in Five Steps

1. The Conquest of the Stupidest Mind.
2. Organization of the Stupidest into the Intelligence of the Communist Party.
3. A Scientific Survey of What the Common People Want and Need Most, and Then Promise Those Things to Them.
4. Revolution, War, and Conquest.
5. Minority Dictatorship and Universal Slavery.

By propaganda and promises they conquered the student intelligentsia and organized them into the elite of the Communist Party. They knew the Chinese peasants wanted most: land and to be free from debt. They promised them the land, which promise also was for them in the Russian Revolution. When the revolution succeeded they kept their promises and divided the land among the peasants for a while as they always do. They chopped off the head of every landlord they could find, then they looked around and spotted the most voracious among the peasants who might later on be leaders of a revolt, and regardless of whether they were pro- or anti-Communist chopped off their heads, too. This is called "liquidating the counter-revolutionaries in advance."

They confiscated every weapon, and then put the peasants in communes, sort

of glorified chicken houses. They took the land back and the peasant war powerlessness to resist this enslavement.

In addition, China was conquered due to certain treasuries. Australians in the American Embassy and State Department working for the Communists, General Pat Hurley came back from China and tried to tell Congress about it, but no one would listen.

All arms and ammunition to Chiang Kai Shek were cut off on orders of General George Marshall who stated that at the stroke of the pen he had unarmed twenty nine divisions. This resulted in the victory of the Communists. What that cost our people in lives and treasure in Korea is incalculable—over 34,000 American boys were killed, and over 100,000 were casualties.

Conquest of Cuba

You will notice the parallelism in the Communist conquest of Cuba going on at present: the promise of land, the liquidation of all opposition, etc., etc. the same China pattern.

As in China the State Department cut off arms and ammunition to Batista ten months before his flight while Communist Castro was supplied by gun runners operating out of Florida, Texas, and Mexico.

You will remember the big build-up Castro got during his revolution and immediately afterwards. He was honored in Washington, New York, and Harvard University. This naturally was arranged by Communists, fellow travelers, and their dupes. Of course, Castro was not a communist, only an agrarian reformer, reminiscent of China.

The smear of Batista went on at the same time. Now Batista was no saint—he was a typical Latin-American dictator with all that implies, but he hated Communism, and was a friend of the U.S.A. He had been in power in Cuba for

Commercial Conspiracy goes Tripping?
The Communists are also after the

Travelling over the Canal zone he fish with the knowledge of your department

How Communists Plan To Take America.

Potential Methods of Communist Take-Over in U. S. A. by Internal Subversion (This list is by no means complete)

1. Infiltration of high offices of government and political parties until the President of the U. S. is a Communist, well known to the rest of us of course, when as Commander in-Chief of the army and navy he could control us. Even the Vice-Presidency would do, as it could be easily arranged for the President to commit suicide.

2. General strike as combination of Raffle's transmitters, Bridges' longshoremen, steelworkers, United Auto Workers, United Electrical Workers, etc., could bring our country to its knees. Think what would happen to your city if the electrical power were cut off.

3. Infiltration of armed forces, until civil war brought about with seizure of the cities such as Washington, New York, Chicago, Detroit by means of students and race riots. Seizure of the police stations and means of communication is an important step.

4. World Government, World Court, United Nations pitch. This I consider the most likely at this time as it is the indirect approach and has such an idealistic appeal, which defeats so many eggheads and do gooders. Hence the concentrated effort to effect the repeal of the Connally Amendment to the World Court Act. In this effort the Communists have enlisted the aid of many idealistic Americans. To relinquish our national sovereignty by degrees until we back into World Communism, UNESCO and Foreign Aid are part of this plan.

5. Inflation, depressions, chaos, etc.

6. Build up fear of nuclear war by propaganda. Fear of the power of the Soviet Union. To induce surrender by nuclear blackmail. Some studies have already been made by the Defense Depart-

ment on how and when to surrender.

7. Collapse of the Government due to Communist infiltration in all branches. Decay of moral values, determination and will to resist. This is what Lyndee meant when he said, "Make you rotten to the core."

Foreign Aid

When Foreign Aid was originally conceived to pull friendly nations out from the depths of the destruction of war it served a useful purpose and parts of it are still useful, such as the Point IV programs to show people how to help themselves, but it has now been prostituted by Left Wingets, Internationalists and Communists, and is a device to spend us into bankruptcy.

Here is a small news item:

"Bolivia, which a couple of months ago chased and stood Americans in its capital, forcing them to spend three nights in the American Embassy under army guard, will receive \$9,500,000 from the United States to enable it to balance its budget."

We had to borrow this money to give Bolivia. The U. S. Government has given Bolivia over \$200,000,000 to keep in power a Marxist government.

Here is an item from the Wall Street Journal, entitled "Thank You":

"Last week the U. S. Government, through the United Nations, handed the Republic of the Congo \$1,000,000 to help that chaotic nation meet its most pressing needs."

Last week end eight U. S. airmen were attacked and beaten by Congolese soldiers and police. The foreign aid situation, it appears, remains normal."

How much good has our foreign aid done us in Cuba? For years we have

subsidized Cuban sugar at 7 cents per pound premium, and have given her millions in foreign aid. Did that prevent Communist Castro from seizing control?

The dollars from this sugar subsidy are now financing Cuban embassies throughout Latin America from which the Kremlin directs a deadly stream of Communist propaganda and intrigue. We are thus financing our own destruction.

Homula Betancourt, President of Venezuela, is a Communist and cooperates with Castro and Moscow. At the proper time you will see that Venezuela is as Communist as Cuba.

For our government to economize on our vital defense programs in the face of Khrushchev's threats and boasts, while spending billions on foreign aid, seems little short of insanity.

The best argument the foreign aid advocates advance is that it buys us our foreign bases. When the chips are down I predict not one country will let us base our nuclear bombers or missiles on their shores. We are going to have to depend on ourselves alone, and the sooner we realize it the better.

When the terrible blow-up comes what help can get from India, Poland, Yugoslavia, and for Heaven's Sake—China.

Japan, England, West Germany, France, and Italy have all been put back in business with foreign aid, which is well and good, but we have exported our industrial know-how and financed our competitors who operate with one half to one fifth of our labor costs. These industries are taking more and more of the business of our industries with resultant stagnation and unemployment. American labor costs are continuing to rise without increase in productivity, complicating the matter further. This is another way to destroy America.

Many people will be shocked to realize foreign aid originated with Joseph Stalin.

P. 112-116, "Marxism and The National Colonial Question."

"It is essential that the advanced countries should render aid—real and prolonged aid—to the backward countries in their cultural and economic development. Otherwise, it will be impossible to bring about the peaceful coexistence of the various nations and peoples within a single economic system, which is so essential for the future triumph of Socialism."

The U. S. A. is following Stalin's spending prescription. We are also paying for our own funeral.

The principal argument for foreign aid is that it prevents the growth of Communism. Actually, it promotes philosophy akin to Communism. Our aid has strengthened the nationalization processes in Norway, Austria, France, Italy, Turkey, Pakistan, India, Indonesia, and even Communist Poland and Yugoslavia. Our dollars have gone mostly to foreign governments to start state enterprises and take over privately owned businesses. We are helping to establish the very system of state slavery we set out to combat.

A total of 3 billion dollars has been given foreign powers to reduce national debts and balance their budgets. To extend this aid we had to BORROW the money.

We have given over 2 billion dollars to governments hostile to us, including the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Poland.

We gave Italy 3.35 billion dollars, of which she has on deposit in the U. S. drawdown interest 1.37 billion dollars.

We gave Japan 2.5 billion dollars, of which she has on deposit in the U. S. drawdown interest 1.26 billion dollars. Did this gift pave the way for the Japanese students' reception at President Eisenhower?

We have 19 billion dollars in gold. Foreign nations have dollar credits against this gold of 23 billion dollars. Frankly, we are practically broke. Probably the dollar will be devalued again in the next year or so. And yet the "liberals" clamor for

more foreign aid as a remedy for everything. This is either stupidity or treason.

Subversion in Tax-Free Foundations

Many of the large tax-free foundations are controlled by an interlocking group of left-wing intellectuals. They are used to funnel astronomical sums of money in their control to bring on socialism in the U.S.A. With all power concentrated in Washington under a Socialist Government it would be relatively easy for a well-organized group of Communists to take over.

An acquaintance of mine, working for a congressional committee, told me that the president of one of the largest foundations said to him furiously, "My job is to change the economic climate of the U. S. A. so that it can be comfortably merged with that of the Soviet Union, and you are not going to stand in my way." No criticism of the Communist influences in these large foundations is permitted because of their enormous donations to universities, hospitals, and other philanthropic purposes.

After all Alger Hiss was president of the Carnegie Foundation for Permanent Peace.

Labor Unions

Labor Unions have long been a Communist goal. How far they have been penetrated by Communists I have no idea, but it must be very far indeed, judging by the hatred and venom poured out in some labor papers. The American Communications Association, which is a Communist-infiltrated union, according to R. Aron, Director of House Un-American Activities Committee, controls all the wires and lead lines in and out of the Pentagon, so probably the Communists get all the messages in and out of the Pentagon.

Some labor leaders do all they can to prevent a friendly feeling from developing between labor and management in fact, encourage a feeling of hatred of management by the workers. The effort is frequently made to have the worker do as little as possible for the money he

receives. This practice alone can destroy our country.

Supreme Court

As I have said before, if many of the opinions of the Warren Supreme Court had been written in the Kremlin they could not have served the Communists better. It's unbelievable pro-Communist decisions have completely wrecked the internal security of our country. This is set out admirably in the report of the American Bar Association.

The Supreme Court has repeatedly thwarted the will of Congress as regards Communists.

The atmosphere in most of the large universities is definitely socialist if not pro-Communist. The universities have been one of the breeding grounds of recruits for the Communist Party. In the 30's the Communist recruits that went directly from universities into government service under the New Deal changed the history of our country. Socialism is taught in many of our secondary schools. Stella Dodd, former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, a professor at Hunter College and now an ex-Communist, told me a number of her old Communist colleagues infiltrated the National Education Association and were instrumental in putting Communist propaganda in text books.

Communist propaganda of one sort or another is dished out in many high schools. Have you examined what is being taught your own children?

The American Mercury said:

"The Communist Party has enlisted the support of at least 3,500 professors — many of them dues-paying members, many others as fellow travelers, some as out-and-out espionage agents, some as adherents of the Party lines in varying degrees and some as the unwitting dupes of subversion."

United Nations

The United Nations, the charter of which was largely written by a convicted

perjurer, Alger Hiss, Vishinsky and one other Russian, has been a rotten core of subversion. It is a haven for subversives and security risks. Unesco has spread forth Communist and World Government propaganda into our schools for years. The U. N. was conceived by the Russians during World War II as a device to continue collaboration with the United States which had proven so profitable to them. The argument that the U. N. is an instrument of peace is entirely fallacious. Is there any indication that since the U. N. has been in existence there is any less war than formerly? As a matter of fact there are more arms, hatred, threats, brush fires and threats of war than there has ever been. For a while the U. S. could command a majority in the Security Council but with the new developing so called "nations" in the Afro-Asian bloc the U. S. will not command a majority. To trust ourselves to the tender mercy of these people is little short of insanity.

The fat cat bureaucrats from the U. N. who travel around the world in high collars at the expense of the U. S. taxpayers (to a substantial extent) are certainly no asset to our country. The U. N. will undoubtedly be one of the most important tools for the Communist take-over of America.

U. S. News & World Report said that as many as one-half of 1,250 administrative executives of the U. N. were Communists or persons willing to do Communist bidding.

Take the case of Pavi Bang-Jensen, Danish diplomat with the U. N., who helped prepare the report on Russian atrocities in the Budapest uprising. Bang-Jensen secured the testimony of Hun-

garian refugees by promising to keep their names secret for fear of Russian reprisals against their relatives still in Hungary. He complained bitterly of the way the report was altered in favor of the Communists. Dan Hammettschild showed the names of the Hungarians testifying, but Bang-Jensen refused to give them to him and burned the list. Bang-Jensen was discharged after being accused of all sorts of things, including insanity.

The National Review said the rumor is that a Russian national with the U. N. desired to defect and took Bang-Jensen into his confidence, telling him also about some Americans who were working in the Soviet espionage apparatus. Unfortunately Bang-Jensen took this to the State Department and it leaked to the Russian Embassy. The Russian national was sent home and shot and it was arranged for Bang-Jensen to commit suicide for knowing too much.

Hungary is the exact measure of U. N. impotence, enemy infiltration and Communist control of the U. N. secretariat.

Let us give Red China a seat in the U. N., our seat!!

The assemblage of Communist thugs, hoodlums, and murderers gathered in the U. N. in September, 1960, was a disgrace to a civilized society and to our country.

One of their objectives was to have that most useful tool of theirs, the U. N. They did this as they often do by pretending to oppose what they really want. Khrushchev by attacking the U. N., by threatening to withdraw, or to have it moved, made doubly sure that it would stay where it will do the Communists the most good—right where it is now.

How Communism Attacks Our Churches.

Dr. Howard Kershner, editor of Christian Economics, told me that as a class, ministers of the Protestant Church had been more highly infiltrated by Communism than any other group. Ministers don't become Communists, but Communists become ministers.

On July 7, 1953, Benjamin Glusow, former Secretary of the Communist Party said under oath:

"The Russian Communists were the first to exploit ministers of the United States and through them, the church organizations, for the purpose of spreading propaganda in favor of Communist Russia. . . . The policy in those days was framed in such a way that the members of the Communist Party could infiltrate church organizations for the purpose of conducting their propaganda among them, for enlisting their support for Soviet Russia and for the various campaigns in which the Communists were interested."

Some ministers of the Gospel have been particularly glibble to the Communist Peace At Any Price pitch — that nuclear war is too horrible to contemplate, therefore, we should surrender to the Communists if we have to crawl on our bellies to Moscow to do it.

Excerpts from hearings before House Un-American Activities Committee on Air Reserve Center Training Manual.

Richard Arens — Director, House Un-American Activities Committee

Secretary Sharp — Secretary for Air Reserve Center

TRAINING MANUAL

MR. ARENS. I should like to invite your attention to the quotation attributed to Mr. Wine appearing in the Washington Evening Star, February 24, 1950.

Mr. Wine also said the Air Force has agreed to amend portions of a second manual objectionable to the council which

served as primary source material for the reserve document. The second manual—285-5—is used now as a guide to security indoctrination.

Did anyone in the Air Force, to your knowledge, give such assurance to Mr. Wine?

SECRETARY SHARP. I don't know of anyone who gave such assurance. Do you know anyone?

GENERAL HOPWOOD, No.

SECRETARY SHARP. I might comment there that I read the manual 285-5 that you are referring to, and the portions of it that refer to Communism in American churches and American schools. I do not find them objectionable. I think they are proper to have in a manual of this type.

MR. ARENS. The essence then of manual 285-5 with respect to Communist infiltration in churches and in church groups is a text with which you are in accord?

SECRETARY SHARP. I am, yes.

MR. ARENS. So the record may be absolutely clear, based upon the investigation of the investigators of the Air Force who have been working on these manuals and their reports to you, is it your position, sir, that the facts are that Communists and fellow travelers are now, and have been in the past, infiltrating church groups, among other groups?

SECRETARY SHARP. I have heard that they have infiltrated church groups; I do not know whether this has been positively proven, but I certainly think we ought to warn our people that they would be in all probability — and I mean by "they" the Communist — would in all probability attempt to infiltrate church groups or schools or any important group in the United States which they could infiltrate.

MR. ARENS. In manual, AP Manual 285-5 you say, in essence — or the manual says in essence, does it not — that Communists are now infiltrating church groups or have infiltrated church groups?

May I invite your attention to page 53? I should like to read you a few sentences from Air Force Manual 285-5, which I understand you to concur in, and then we will discuss, if you please, sir, some of the statements.

On page 53 of Air Force Manual 285-5, the following appears, does it not sir?

"A while back Americans were shocked to find that Communists had infiltrated our churches. It isn't so shocking though when you consider how the Communists are using Russian churches today. They want to do the same thing here. They want to teach the Soviet gospel from the pulpit."

The Communist Party, USA, has instructed many of its members to join churches and church groups, to take control whenever possible, and to influence the thoughts and actions of as many church-goers as they can.

Communists form front organizations especially to attract Americans with religious interests. The party tries to get leading church men to support Communist policies disguised as welfare work for minorities. Earl Browder, former head of the American Communist party, once admitted:

"By going among the religious masses, we are for the first time able to bring our anti-religious ideas to them."

Are there Communist ministers? Sure. The Communists have members in just about every profession in our country. Of course no clergyman admits he is a Communist when he is one (he is required to keep his membership a secret), but he still does Communist work. The House Un-American Activities Committee lists two ministers — the Rev. Black, a former Presbyterian whose congregation kicked him out for party activities, and the Rev. Blank, retired Episcopalian who served as a delegate to a Communist convention and lectured at Communist meetings.

As to whether Communist ministers are a real danger, let's turn to a statement by former President Herbert Hoover: "I confess to a real apprehension; as long as Communists are able to secure

ministers of the gospel to promote their evil work and espouse a cause that is alien to the religion of Christ and Judaism."

Communists try everything when it comes to churches. They sneak disguised propaganda into church holidays. They send Communists around to lecture church groups. The head of the Communist Party once spoke at Union Theological Seminary in New York, and the legislative secretary of the party addressed a conference of 100 ministers in Washington, D. C. The Communists order their youngest members into youth groups where they can spread atheism and recruit new Communist adherents. Communist style is also spread through various organizations like the People's Institute of Applied Religion, which teaches Communist ideas under the disguise that they are Christian teachings.

Again, to stop Communism, we must be careful not to attack the majority of faithful ministers and church-goers. We must merely search out those who back Moscow right down the line. We can do this, first, by understanding and suppressing the teachings of our own religions in the pulpits; then, by getting rid of those who try to pass off Communist ideas as substitutes for what we know are true religious teachings.

I have read you the pertinent paragraphs of Air Force Manual 285-5 concerning which Mr. Wine is quoted in the Washington Evening Star of February 24, as saying that the Air Force has agreed to amend portions which are objectionable.

Am I correct in my interpretation of your testimony that neither you nor anyone to your knowledge in official position in the Air Force has given Mr. Wine the assurance which is attributed to him in the press?

SECRETARY SHARP. Certainly I have not. I do not know of anyone who has.

MR. ARENS. Am I likewise, and is the record likewise, clear that you, sir, based upon the information which has been made available to you by your subordinates, concur in the language which I have

just read to you in Air Force Manual 25-57.

SECRETARY SHARP. I would say that I certainly agree with the assumption that the Communist Party would obviously in its activities attempt to infiltrate the church as outlined here.

I must say that I have not investigated the two individuals referred to by name in these paragraphs which you have read as to whether or not they have actually been proven to be guilty of the charges outlined.

MR. SCHERER. The counsel is reading from the manual merely stated that those two are listed by this committee.

THE CHAIRMAN. Among others.

MR. SCHERER. Among others.

Stage, Screen, Radio and Television

The stage, screen, radio, and television have had a high degree of Communist infiltration for many years. We have been persuaded into a feeling of apathy and security, which is probably the greatest accomplishment of the Communists in the U. S. A.

You will notice that some movies and television shows depict the horrors of war, how clumsy and like buffoons the officers are — apparently to destroy the public confidence in the armed services.

Is how many current movies or television shows is a Communist depicted as a villain? Certainly very few.

The brutalities of the Nazis are gone over again and again on television and newsreels. This is undoubtedly done for two reasons: 1, to divert attention from the Communists' own heinous crimes and atrocities; 2, to build up public sentiment against West Germany and Adenauer, who has been a staunch Rock of Gibraltar against yielding to the Communists on West Berlin.

An ex-FBI agent told me that he cannot go to the movies or look at television because in his former work investigating subversives he learned so much about Communist actors, writers, and directors.

that he is shocked when he sees their slinky hands in a production.

Politics

Politically the Communists used every step forward to set up political factions and splinter groups so they could force the old-line parties into nominating liberals. With left-wing candidates on both political tickets, the voters are disenfranchised as effectively as if the suffrage were abolished.

Wendell Willkie

A paragraph from Men Without Faces, by Louis Budenz (pages 277-78), former editor of the Communist Daily Worker, now an ex-Communist and professor at Fordham University, tells us about the case of Wendell Willkie, former Republican presidential candidate. The Communists had long since penetrated the New Deal because it was the party in power. Earl Browder, head of the Communist party, decided that it would be valuable to have roots in the Republican camp.

The One World ideas of Mr. Willkie made it comparatively easy for the Communists to get to Mr. Willkie. They succeeded in persuading him to represent William Schneiderman, California Communist District Leader, in his deportation case then coming up before the U. S. Supreme Court. By spring of 1943 Wendell Willkie was before the U. S. Supreme Court pleading the legality of the Communist Fifth Column in America.

Now, of course, Mr. Willkie was no Communist — he undoubtedly thought he was doing a grand job for civil rights.

This paragraph shows two things:

1. The Communists have infiltrated both the Democrat and Republican Parties for many years. If we could only see behind the political scenes, I am sure we would be shocked.

2. The Communists influence the highest political figures in the land.

Newspapers and Magazines

Whittaker Chambers, former Communist and senior editor of Time Magazine, said there is probably no important magazine or newspaper in the U. S. A. but has

some degree of Communist penetration. Notice how the headlines and editorials of many papers are slanted. The book review sections of some of the large New York dailies will not give a good review to a conservative book. Many of the magazines sold at newsstands seem specifically designed to destroy the morale of the armed services. The sex and crime angles are magnified to destroy the moral fibre of our young people.

Since the McCarthy hearings the left wingers and sympathizers who have infiltrated the news agencies and newspapers have declared a blackout on anti-Communist news. This is why you read so little anti-Communist news any more.

Art

Modern art has its origin with Picasso, an admitted Communist. He said, "My art is not to decorate apartments. It is revolutionary art — for the class struggle." The idea is to make our civilization seem degraded, ugly and hopeless. The idea of doubling paint on canvas the way a peevish child would do it, and calling it art is part of this pattern. This will probably infuriate many so-called "modern artists." At the Brussels World's Fair and Moscow Art Festival put on by the United States Information Agency one half the pictures were by Communist artists and were blatant Communist propaganda.

Communist Influence On Presidents

Carl Brunker was a frequent guest through the side door of the White House

under Roosevelt. Whittaker Chambers was a courier between the members of the Harold Ware Communist espionage group of government employees and their Russian masters. Members of this group, which numbered approximately 100, were in the White House, State Department, Treasury, Agriculture Department, etc. They furnished every secret of our government to the Kwantung in World War II, even the date of D-Day. Of course, another gang got the atomic bomb.

Chambers left the Party in 1937 at great risk to his life, later becoming a senior editor of Time Magazine. When Hitler and Stalin made the pact in 1939 that started World War II, Chambers tried to tell President Roosevelt about the spy ring, but could not get to see him. He did get to see the security officer of the U. S. Department of State at his home late one night. He told him the full story and the next morning this man rushed excitedly to the White House to tell the President. After listening impatiently President Roosevelt told him to go to Hell. It was twelve years later before the story came out. Of the Harold Ware group nothing ever happened to any of them except Alger Hiss, who went to prison for perjury. I have read that some of the attorneys who were members of this spy ring are now employed by the large tax-free foundations.

How Communism Took Over Other Nations.

I was in Iraq in 1968, that old country at the head of the Persian Gulf, where the Tigris and Euphrates flow. It is ancient Babylonian and Mesopotamian in the capital. During an hour's conference with the Foreign Minister, Dr. Mohammad Fadhil al-Jamali, he told me there were many people in the U.S.A. prostituting the RFE of Rients in order to destroy it. He should know for he was in the United Nations for many years.

Some months after I left Baghdad the Communist revolt and take-over began.

A friend of mine from Wichita went through it all. He returned to Wichita a year and a half later. His hair had gotten much whiter and he looked ten years older. He told me that before he would go through a Communist take-over again they would have to kill him, he said the speed and precision with which the Communists worked was unbelievable. They first murdered the royal family, including all the women and children, then the public figures who could form a government. They sentenced my friend, Dr. Jamali, to death, but I learned from a recent issue of Time Magazine that his sentence had been commuted to ten years imprisonment. While the anti-Communists were still resisting, the U. S. Government risked it and recognized the Communist Kassein regime, and the anti-Communist resistance collapsed.

The most unbelievable thing about the take-over in Iraq was the fact that the people whom one least suspected of being Communists turned out to be the blindest ones. This has also been the case in China, Czechoslovakia, and other countries, and will be the case if the Communists take over our country.

My friend was manager of the Daura refinery, owned by the government. The biggest Communists in the refinery turned

out to be Iraq engineers educated in the U. S. A. A reign of terror was set up in the refinery, and a girl working in the laboratory was the chief denouncer of the secret police. Many of the refinery personnel disappeared. They were either murdered or sent to prison.

"A Communist professor is cautious about trying to indoctrinate the average American boy because the boy may go home and give evidence of his indoctrination, with the result that his parents become aware of what is going on and kick up a row. No such hazards are present, however, in indoctrinating foreign students. They are lonely and far from home and, therefore, become easy grist for the Communist mill. The Communists give them attention, companionship, and sociability, and send them back to their homeland as dedicated Communists to do their deadly work. Dr. Frederick Schwartz said for years most of the Australian Rhodes Scholars returned to Australia as dedicated Communists.

My friends who had the experience in Iraq said that in Iraq 75% of the students who had studied in the larger American and British universities were Communists. Students from the smaller colleges did not seem to be affected. Although he had no way of knowing where they got their indoctrination, he knew Communist leaders from the Universities of Michigan, Texas, Ohio, Denver, and Southern California.

I have heard from other sources that many of the Burmese students in American universities return to Burma as dedicated Communists.

Of course, our magazines tell us that Kassein, head of the Communist government, is not a Communist, so we must give Iraq foreign aid, or the Communists around him might get control.

My friend said the continual barrage of propaganda denouncing the U. S. as an imperialist was milder and capitalistic exploiters was terrible by radio, television, newspapers, speeches, and sign boards.

He said the amazing thing was that although you knew it to be a lie after so long a time you began to believe it yourself — a demonstration of the phenomenon of Pavlov's conditioned reflex.

Dr. Kerstner told me that several people in the captive nations behind the Iron Curtain advised him that, if during the four days the Freedom Fighters were in control of Budapest the U. S. Government had reprimanded them, it would have sparked numerous revolts in Poland and Czechoslovakia. However, we only wish to recognize Communist regimes as those of Sukarno, Kassein, and Castro.

An ex-FBI agent told me that he helped screen the Hungarian refugees brought into Camp Kilmer, New Jersey, during the Hungarian revolt.

The first refugees from the revolt in Budapest when the Freedom Fighters were in control were the Communists. No sooner had these refugees begun to pour into Austria than the U. S. Government, acting under Presidential directive, flew planes over to pick them up and bring them to the United States.

The FBI had orders not to turn a refugee back if he were a Communist, but only if he had been a member of the Secret Police. According to my informant Mr. J. Edgar Hoover protested to President Eisenhower to vigorously this policy of admitting known Communists into the country that the relations between the two men became very strained.

The same agent told me he had talked to many criminals in prison, and that he had always been able to get under their skins by some means or other, such as referring to mother, home, or "you are not a bad guy at heart, Joe," but in his long career he had never been able to

get under the skin of a Communist prisoner by any tactics. A Communist, when he goes in the party, is known as a man under sentence of death.

Bella Dodd, who spent 25 years in the Communist Party, and who is now a practicing attorney in New York City, told me she pleads cases in front of a judge in whose home she used to attend Communist cell meetings.

The record shows that Americans have played a large part in promoting Communism around the world.

Italy

Since nearly 4 billion dollars of American taxpayers' money have been poured into Italy since 1947 to prevent the Communists from taking over the Italian political and economic system, it is more than casual interest to American citizens to learn that it was Americans who were primarily responsible for the restoration and vast growth of the Communist movement in Italy, which had been suppressed by Mussolini. It was instigated by the Americans that Communists be represented in the governments that followed the overthrow of Mussolini, and that Communist-dominated labor unions should be given precedence in the Italian labor movement. It was an American ship which brought Palmiro Togliatti, the Italian Communist leader, back to Rome from Moscow, where he had lived for years, and American political and military leaders who helped to install him in power. He ultimately became Minister of Justice in a post-war government, and declared that the murder of over 50,000 Italian Fascists and their families (including many who were only suspected of Fascism) was the finest deed in all Italian history.

Herbert Philbrick came to know 75 persons in the Communist underground around Cambridge and Boston, all individuals of great seeming respectability.

Of this number the occupations were about as follows:

- 8 ministers of the gospel,
- 12 businessmen
- 4 publishers
- 5 doctors
- 8 lawyers
- 8 public school teachers
- 30 college professors

—

This does not look like the army of the working class.

Subversives in the Armed Service

Browder bragged that 11,000 Communists were in uniform in World War II as commissioned, noncommissioned officers, and privates. On December 30, 1944, the War Department issued secret orders making all identifications of Communists impossible.

The fruits of this policy were when American military prestige received a shattering blow in January, 1945, with the "Want to go home riots" sparked by these same Communists.

In Manila, 10,000 troops booted their commanding general.

In Frankfurt, Germany, General McNarney called out special paratroops to stop a demonstration of 4,000 mutinous American soldiers.

The Judge Advocate General of the U. S. Navy, an admiral, told me that he had addressed the Naval War College on Communism a few years ago. At the conclusion of his address a Harvard professor arose and excoriated him as a Fascist and reactionary. Since that event he has never been asked to address the War College again.

Propaganda

Measured in terms of subtlety, diversity, vigor, and extent the worldwide Communist propaganda is terrific. All forms

of the printed word, radio, television, and moving pictures are utilized to exploit social, political, economic unrest, jealousy, and race prejudice throughout the world.

The so-called cultural exchange programs are blatant propaganda devices.

The extent of propaganda retelling the merits of Communism and all its perils, which you hear every day, is a measure of subversion and brainwashing in our country.

Atomic Bombs

The commandant of a large air base told me he was not afraid of the atom bombs the Russians could deliver by air, but what caused him to lose sleep was fear of a bomb being delivered in a gasoline truck which would wipe his base and the nearby city off the map.

There were a considerable number of Communists employed in the atomic plants during the war, particularly at Los Alamos. The inventory methods were so lax that enough fissionable material could have been taken to make over twenty-five bombs. Being in the U.S.A., these bombs are already delivered.

A naval captain attached to the Atomic Energy Commission told me that the fazez-minded scientists and left wing characters who had infiltrated the various departments under the Commission were too much for him so he was going to get out of the service and try to tell the American people what is going on.

At the Port of New York they endeavor to detect any person bringing in fissionable material, but at no other port of entry in the United States is any such effort made.

Inasmuch as the fissionable material for a bomb can be brought in, in a suitcase, why worry about Russian rockets?

Communists Incite Racial Strife.

You may be sure the Communists are flailing furiously in the troubled waters of integration on both sides. The Communists are not interested in the aspirations of the negro except as a means to stir up racial hatred in order to divide both the white and black man. The colored man looms large in the Communist plan to take over America.

I have been told by ex-Communists that the Communist Party has been influential in changing the racial laws of New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Detroit, and Chicago to make it attractive for rural Southern Negroes and Puerto Ricans to come to those cities. In the first place, the Communist Party intends to use the votes of these people to swing the balance in these populous critical states; secondly, when the Party is ready to take over these cities it will use the colored people by getting a vicious race war started.

* * *

When an anti-Communist revolt broke out two years ago in Indonesia the U. S. Government sent arms and ammunition to the Communist Sukarno. Communist Sukarno has been entertained and feiced in this country by our highest officials. The U. S. Government has consistently supported the Communist Algerian rebels, the FLN Terrorists against our French allies in the United Nations.

Herbert Philbrick told me that several years ago he was writing a column on Communism for the New York Herald Tribune. Through a stipulate to the Communist Party he learned that the Party was about to have a speech on passport regulations made in the U. S. Senate since thrown out, of course, by the Supreme Court. This speech was to include quotations from a noted red scientist from the West Coast and a certain quotation from the Yale Law Journal. This was written

up by Philbrick and duly published in the Sunday edition of the Herald Tribune. On the following Tuesday the identical speech was made on the floor of the Senate, it later developed that the speech was written by an editorial writer of a large Washington paper and handed to a certain U. S. Senator for delivery.

In the New World Review Communists were told "We must press with all our strength for negotiations everywhere . . . Let the voices of Americans swell the cry of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world. Negotiate—Negotiate—Negotiate." This demand of the Communist conspiracy was joined by the usual allies and dupes. Once again what Moscow wanted Americans to think echoed around our nation. Within two years of the time the American Communists were given their orders by the Communist International our President was in Geneva fraternizing with the vilest criminals in all history and seven years later gave the arch criminal of them all a royal propaganda tour of the U.S.A., went to a Summit meeting at Khrushchev's call where he received the greatest insult ever delivered to our country in its history.

Peaceful coexistence is surrender as the installment plan.

The choice history is slowly bringing to all men—the decision to die if necessary rather than live under Communism.

The persistent effort of any man to expose Communism in government is much less likely to lead to exposure than to records against him.

Let me remind you that nearly every man in Congress who has lifted his sword against the Communist conspiracy has been destroyed. The Communist smear is a standard weapon to accuse the opponent of insanity, of being a Fascist, of being an alcoholic, a homosexual, and

Scientific or what have you.

There is a nation-wide concerted Communist movement on to destroy the FBI. J. Edgar Hoover, the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Committee. The recent vicious riots in San Francisco are symptomatic of this conspiracy.

Most Communist fronts have the word "PEACE" in them. Everybody wants peace, of course, but to a Red the word peace means Communism. Other important Communist goals are recognition of Red China, repeal of the student loyalty oath, cessation of atomic testing and disarmament.

Dimitry Manuilsky, Soviet representative who was chairman of the Security Council of the U.N. in 1949, said in the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow:

"War to the hilt between Capitalism and Communism is inevitable. . . . To win we will need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep. So we will begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will refuse to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down we will smash them with our clenched fist."

Now you may say that I am a crackpot, off my rocker, or unduly biased on this subject, but surely you would not say that Mr. J. Edgar Hoover was. Read what he has to say in this subject!

United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
March 1, 1960

Washington 25, D. C.

To All Law Enforcement Officials:
It is an incontestable fact that our country, the symbol of the free world, is the ultimate, priceless goal of international Communism. The leaders of in-

ternational Communism have vowed to achieve world domination. This cannot be until the Red flag is flown over the United States.

If, for a moment, the grandiose Red plan is scoffed at as being fantastic, consider that one-fourth of the land surface of the world and one-third of the people of the earth are now controlled by the world wide Communist bloc.

Certainly, the Communist gains throughout the world are evidence enough that America, if it lowers its guard, may be someday an easy target for the Red dragon. The Communist plan is to conquer the United States, if not today, then tomorrow; if not tomorrow, then the next day, next month, next year—there is no timetable, no "Five-Year Plan." This is evident in the machinations of the Communist Party USA, as shown by the analysis of its 15th National Convention published in this Bulletin.

It is indeed appalling that some members of our society continue to deplore and criticize those who stress the Communist danger. What these misguided "authorities" fail to realize is that the Communist Party, USA, is an integral part of international Communism. As the world wide menace becomes more powerful the various Communist Parties assume a more dangerous and sinister role in the countries in which they are entrenched. Phobic indifference to this threat is tantamount to national suicide.

Leakage leads only to disaster. The Communists have a savage plan of liquidation for a vanquished America. The blueprint can be found in the words of Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, who reportedly said that it was necessary to liquidate 500,000 "enemies" to solidify Communism in China. Another pattern is the plight of countless families in satellite countries who were torn apart and transported to the abolition of Soviet labor camps.

Under Communist domination in America, the first campaign of liquidation

would engulf the lawyers, champions of due process of law; newsmen, whose sacred right of freedom of expression would have no place under totalitarianism; law enforcement officers, guardians of individual rights; governmental leaders, local, state and national; and everyone falling in the so-called "capitalist" category. Occupations and professions which the Communists term "useless and parasitic" would be abolished — clerks, salesmen, stockbrokers, insurance men, advertising specialists, traveling salesmen—the list for purging is endless. No citizen would escape some form of suffering under a Communist regime. One need but to compare his own worth, his own ideals, his own religious beliefs with the abhorrent doctrines of Communism to determine his priority on the list of liquidation.

The defense of the cherished freedoms secured and handed down to us by our forefathers is the responsibility of each American. Knowledge of the enemy, alertness to the danger, and everyday patriotism are the brick and mortar with which we can build an impenetrable fortress against Communism. Only the unflinching efforts of all Americans can avert the decay of public spirit from laying open our Nation to the Red menace.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

(Reprinted from the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, March, 1960)

In these peaceful surroundings it is indeed hard to believe that such a vicious conspiracy is now going on, and bids fair to destroy us.

One may prefer not to think about it—to put his head under the covers, hoping it will go away.

The sad fact is that the very people who will be murdered by the conspiracy have plenty of time for cocktail parties, football games, golf, etc., but no time at all to even read about Communism.

Its plans, methods, programs are so secret. It is all in your libraries. The House Un-American Activities Committee has printed reams of material outlining the whole thing. How much of it have you bothered to read?

The greatest hazard the Communists face is that the American people will awake from their lethargy, but I confess there seems to be little prospect of it.

The primary areas where we are losing are in the schools and universities, the churches, the labor union, and the U. S. Government.

The remarkable thing about this era of Communist subversion through which we are going is how totally unaware the average American is of its presence. The average American business man will fight like a tiger if you tried to take a few thousand dollars away from him, but here is a conspiracy which will take not only all his possessions but his life as well and probably that of his wife and children, and he either says, "I don't believe it," or "What can I do?"

What will be the end? Nobody knows, at least. Dr. Hella Dodd, a very sad and contrite woman, who after 25 years in the conspiracy realized the irreparable harm she had done, said two years ago in Vienna that the Communist Party will try to get control of the United States Government in the next five years all in the name of anti-Communism. It will probably be under the guise of the United Nations, World Court, or World Government, because so many people can be easily deceived by the deceptive appeal of these organizations.

Spruille Braden, former Assistant Secretary of State, said it looked like the United States would be Communist in his lifetime, and he is not a young man.

Richard Arens, director of the House Un-American Activities Committee, said that the United States will be Communist in ten years.

Robert Welch, who is an authority on Communism with wide sources of infor-

mation in the government and out, says the degree of Communist control in the U. S. is from 25-50 per cent. Do you wonder why we always lose abroad?

The Communist goal is to leave the United States by the jugular vein before 1970. Many people who believe this have the attitude of Louis XIV, who said:

"Après Moi, le Deluge" - "May the flood come after I am dead."

This philosophy may seem all right to old people, but what about the youngsters and children? They are going to have to live with this thing.

Congressman Scherer says there are over two thousand Communist spies and saboteurs in our defense plants, and we cannot get them out because of U. S. Supreme Court decisions.

Nothing is surer than that Communism is going to take America if we continue in our apathy, indifference, and ignorance.

The fact that we have made dozens of flights over Russia in the past four years show that our bombers can pulverize her in a few hours. When Khrushchev, with the blood of Hungarians and his own countrymen up to his elbows, can wangle an invitation to this country, can demand and get a Summit conference, can scotch this conference by calling our President a thief

and a liar in the language of the gutter, and some of our most prominent Americans, such as Adlai Stevenson, demand that we beg this criminal to please come back and negotiate, what has happened to us? And Senator Kennedy wanted President Eisenhower to apologize to Khrushchev!

We were in greatest danger when our President had his arm around the Communist leaders, and we were in the Stars of Camp David. When the Communist leaders at you, that is, when he is getting ready to drive the knife into your back.

We have the most wonderful country in the entire history of the human race. If you don't believe it, go and live abroad for several years. This country, while certainly not free from faults, has given more freedom, a higher standard of living, and greater material blessings to more people than any other country in human existence. It is the hope and dream of the nationals of most other countries to come and live here. And, yet, it looks like it is going down the Communist drain because too few people want to be bothered to understand what is happening, or have the courage to do anything about it. It will probably happen so quickly that most people will never realize what is happening to them.

Summary Of Communism.

1. There will never be peace in the world as long as Communism exists. We are in a war to the death, and not of our choosing. Unhappily few people are aware of this fact.

2. You can trust a Communist to always be a Communist in the end - to work for complete governmental control by violent, bloody revolution.

3. You can attack Communism without much fear, in fact some Communists may join you - but, if you attack particular Communists in government, the roof will fall in on you.

4. Socialism is the precursor of Communism. Democracy cannot exist if the government owns all property. A Communist take-over is a Socialist country would be no truck at all.

5. The United Nations was conceived by Communists in Moscow in World War II. The United Nations, the World Court, and World Government are instruments the Kremlin intends for the subtle take-over of America.

6. Communism is not a disease of poverty - it is a disease of the mind. The children of the very rich are far more susceptible to it than the children of the poor.

7. The Communists intend to take us over by degrees - each time a crisis arises we make a concession to Communism as an alternative to dreadful atomic warfare. Each will be a step to surrender, although at the time it will not appear to be decisive. Eventually our will to resist is destroyed.

8. Stalin's orders to his police for the Jewish doctors arrested and accused of poisoning Edna were "Beat, beat, and beat again. If you don't get a confession by this date, I will shaven you by a head."

9. It is obvious that we are in great

danger when a few unscrupulous labor leaders can compel a worker to join a union, contribute money to the union, and obey the will of these leaders. When the tremendous sums so realized can be used for political purpose to elect puppets of these leaders to political offices about which the worker has nothing to say, dictatorship is just around the corner. In addition to the threat of having his head bashed in for failure to comply the worker is bribed by higher and higher wages. The end result of this game will be slavery for him, although few seem to realize it.

10. Popular fallacies - That by concessions to the Russian Communists they will "understand" us; that there will be a revolt in Russia; that Red China and Red Russia are going to have a falling out, and Russia will ally herself with us; that the Red Army has anything to say in the power struggle in the U.S.S.R.; that peaceful coexistence is possible.

11. The Communist technique is always the same - to get control by giving the landless peasants land from large estates - promising the workers that they will own the industries for which they work, etc. This is the bait for the trap. After all arms are confiscated, and the Communists are in complete control, then the bait is taken away, and the peasants and workers are helpless slaves.

12. To anyone who advances the Communist propaganda how wonderful Communism is, ask him why there are millions of refugees from East Germany, Hungary, China, etc. Why the Iron Curtain to keep the victims in? It takes powerful compulsion for a man, his wife and children, with what meager possessions they can carry in their hands, to risk death and to face an unknown future.

13. The greatest problem facing the American people is internal subversion.

Was the subject mentioned in the platform of either political party of Los Angeles or Chicago No. Why? Since McCarthy was crucified no public figure has had the courage to wade into this controversial field. This obviously has been a tremendous victory for Communism — in fact, it may have settled the fate of our country.

14. "What does it matter if three quarters of the world perish if the remaining one quarter is Communist?" — Lenin.

15. Americans have no conception of what Communist terror means. Russians and eastern Europeans know what it means. Many of the Russians who were forcibly and shamefully repatriated back to the Krimian tyrant in World War II, with British and American aid, chose death instead. Some jumped out of train windows while going over a bridge, some hanged themselves in barracks and set fire to the buildings, some destroyed themselves in any way possible rather than go back to the Communist terror.

16. It is not the Communists who are destroying America. America is being destroyed by citizens who will not listen, are not informed, and will not think. The uninformed are easily misinformed. Americans are misinformed today to an extent that is unbelievable.

17. Let George do it. George is not big enough. In order to preserve America it is going to take the devoted efforts of each and every loyal American and now. The hour is very, very late.

18. Some of the wealthy liberals and political opportunists who have exposed the Communist cause — thereby thinking to profit themselves in event of a Communist victory, are biting themselves in for a great let-down. The hard-core Communists who despise such people will murder them as quickly as they will the staunchest Capitalists, as was proven in Russia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and elsewhere. There is one compensation in that all hard-core Communists are "casualties," and the Communist who murders you will more than likely be murdered by one of his own kind.

FINIS

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